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Date *3/2/71*

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NEAR EASTERN

FILE No. *NE Q 1/2* (1-49)
(Part A)

TITLE: *Problem of Kurds in Iraq.*

REFER TO

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(and dept. when necessary)

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(and dept. when necessary)

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DATE

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Regy*

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13-16

10/2

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P.H.

17/11

23/2

Regy

17/11

23/2

PH

(19)

23/2

Regy

6/3

Mr Egerton

(21)

6/3

Mr Smith

(21)

11/3

P.H.

(20)

11/3

Mr Egerton

(22)

Regy

16/3

P.H.

16/3

Regy

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37-41

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12-45

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18/3

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1970

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PART
A

Q 1/2

FILE No.

Today's Main News And Trends, Cont'dIRAQI GOVERNMENT INITIATES CONTACTS WITH
BARZANI FOR SETTLEMENT OF KURDISH ISSUE

Iraq, Kurds

The Iraqi Government has initiated contacts with Kurdish insurgent leader Mulla Mustafa Barzani in efforts for ending the war in the north. Informed travellers from Baghdad yesterday said that preliminary meetings have taken place which, if successful, would lead to high-level negotiations between the two sides. The Government was reported to have formed its own delegation to the projected talks under Mr Sidam Hussein Takriti, the Vice Chairman of the Revolution Command Council and Assistant Secretary General of the ruling National (Iraqi) leadership of the Baath Party. The delegation was scheduled to have gone to the Rawanduz area, where Barzani has his headquarters, last Saturday to begin the negotiations, but there has not been any news yet whether it has gone or not. There has been no official word from Baghdad yet to confirm or deny this news.

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Mission To Barzani. On December 18th, a former Kurdish Minister, Fuad Arif, a known Barzani man, was invited to the Presidential Palace where he met with Baathist leaders, and was asked to go up north to see Barzani and tell him of the Government's desire and willingness to negotiate a settlement for ending the Kurdish conflict. Accompanied by two Baathists, Arif the next day went to the Rawanduz district where he and the two Baathists had a meeting with Barzani. The Kurdish leader, the travellers said, wanted assurances that the regime was this time sincere in its efforts at meeting Kurdish demands. Barzani was reported to have made two initial conditions: 1) that an assurance be provided by Mr Michel Aflak, the top Baathist leader and Secretary General of the Pan-Arab Leadership of the Party; and 2) that any agreement which may be reached with the Iraqi Government should be deposited with the UN as a guarantee that the Government will carry it out and that it will not be broken in future.

The travellers did not have information as to what has happened subsequently --but they emphasized that the important thing is that contacts for a settlement of the off-again on-again Kurdish war, which has been going on since 1961, have begun. They said they believed that the Government wants a settlement as soon as possible, and that the leadership in Baghdad wants to include Barzanists in the new Iraqi Cabinet said now to be in the making. The regime is now trying to form a national coalition Cabinet which would include, other than the Baathists, representatives of certain "progressive groups", such as the communists, as well as the Kurdish representatives.

Iraqi Government moves to end Kurdish problem

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

THE IRAQI Government has initiated contacts with the Kurdish insurgent leader Mulla Mustafa Barzani to end the Kurdish war in the northern part of the country, according to informed travellers from Baghdad.

They said Barzani is favourably disposed to negotiations which, if successful, would relieve Iraq of its most chronic and serious problem. It would also leave the Iraqi Army free to give greater attention to the confrontation with Israel.

On or about December 18 the Iraqi Government contacted a former Kurdish Minister, Fuad Arif, who is known to be a Barzani man, and asked him to mediate with the Kurdish leader at the latter's stronghold in Rawanduz, near the Iranian border.

Basic demand

Arif agreed and went with a representative of the ruling Baath Party. After meeting with Barzani the latter sent his own emissary to Michel Aflak, founder of the Baath Party and an important Baath figure. Apparently Barzani wanted assurance at the highest Baathist level because of deep mistrust between the Kurdish insurgents and the Baathist leaders.

According to the travellers Barzani also asked that if agreement were to be reached with the

Iraqi Government it must be registered with the UN to guarantee that it would be implemented.

Aflak was reported to have emphasised the Iraqi regime's desire to end the Kurdish problem on a basis of recognition by



Mustafa Barzani, the Kurdish leader.

Baghdad of Kurdish nationalist rights. Barzani was reported to have made a basic demand that Kurds should enjoy the same rights as Arabs.

It is understood that the Iraqi

Government has formed a high-level delegation for full negotiations with Barzani once agreement is reached during initial contacts. The delegation is to be led by Sidam Hussein Takriti, Vice-President of the Iraqi Revolution Command Council—the country's highest executive authority. Mr. Takriti is the second in command in Iraq to-day, after President Ahmed Hassan Al Bakr.

The Kurdish war has been dragging on since 1961. A truce was reached in 1961, but broke down over disagreement between the 66-year-old Barzani and the Baathist regime which came to power in July last year.

New Cabinet

Kurdish insurgents have been fighting for autonomy within a unified Iraq.

The present regime was reported to have stationed as many as two divisions in the North to keep insurgents under control. Because of this Iraq's contribution to the confrontation with Israel has been hindered. If agreement is reached with the Kurds, Barzani representatives could well enter a new Iraqi Cabinet now being formed in Baghdad. Agreement with the Kurds will be good news to foreign oil quarters because of the threat the Kurdish war posed to oil installations in the North.

NAILED RECENTLY
IN
BAGHDAD

Mr. Mahdian
Mr. Mahdian (OIL DEPT)
Mr. enter - 12

NEQ

PMH
24/12

Holiday Main News And Trends, Cont'd

Dr Abdel Kerim Al Shaikhaly respectively.

It will be recalled that a dialogue had been going on between the Communist Party, the "Central Committee" faction (as separate from the breakaway "Central Leadership" led by Aziz Haj), and the Baath Party for several months now. Mr Sharif belongs to the Central Committee, and is believed to be a member of the Politbureau of the Iraqi Communist Party. This is the original faction of the Iraqi Communist Party, the pro-Soviet faction. The last obstacle in the dialogue was reported to be the attitude of the Iraqi regime regarding the Kurdish insurrection. The Communists, it will be recalled, support the Kurdish demand for autonomy within Iraq. The obstacle may have been removed with reports that the Iraqi Government had initiated contacts with Barzani to bring the insurrection to an end.

The Kurdish Position. The fact that the Cabinet reshuffle did not touch the two portfolios assigned to the followers of Barzani, showed that the regime was keeping the door open for a possible settlement with Barzani. On the other hand, the reshuffle also retained a third Kurd, Mr Taha Mohieddin, a follower of the breakaway Kurdish faction of Jalal Talabani. One of the reasons which made the Barzanists to refuse to take up their posts in the Cabinet was reportedly the appointment of the "Talabanist" in the Cabinet. Barzani and Talabani have been engaged in inter-Kurdish fighting.

The two Barzanist Ministers appointed to the original Cabinet were Ihsan Sherzad, the Minister of Housing, and Mohsen Dizai, the Minister for North Affairs. Mohieddin is a Minister of State.

Woman Among New Ministers. Among the five new Ministers appointed under the reshuffle was a woman. She is Dr Souad Khalil Ismail, the Minister of Higher Education, which is a new portfolio in the Cabinet. The other four Ministers were: Izzat Al Douri, a member of the RCG and of the Baath Party leadership; Aziz Sharif; Dr Saad Abdel Baki, former President of Basra University; and Dr Saadoun Hammadi, Chairman of the Iraq National Oil Company, who replaced Dr Rashid Rifai as Minister of Oil and Minerals. It was not known whether Hammadi would now also retain the Presidency of INOC.

The Reshuffle. Following is how the reshuffle stood: Abdullah Salloum Samarrai was removed as Minister of Culture and Information and appointed Minister of State; Izzat Al Douri was appointed Minister of Agrarian Reform; Dr Ahmed Abdel Sattar Al Jiwari was removed as Minister of Education, and appointed Minister of State for Presidential Affairs; Dr Rashid Rifai was removed as Minister of Oil and appointed Minister of State; Dr Maouloud Kamel Abd was removed as Minister of Agrarian Reform and appointed Minister of Agriculture; Hamed Al Jobouri was removed as Minister of State for Presidential Affairs and appointed Minister of Culture and Information; Mahdi Al Doulai was dropped as Minister of Labour; Dr Abdel Hussein Al Atiyah was dropped as Minister of Agriculture; Dr Saadoun Hammadi was named Minister of Oil; Aziz Sharif was named Minister of Justice; Dr Souad Khalil Ismail was named Minister of Higher Education; and Dr Saad Abdel Baki was named Minister of Education.

* * *

ON FATAH'S 5TH ANNIVERSARY. Newspapers yesterday widely covered the press conference held in Amman Wednesday by Fatah to mark the 5th anniversary of the launching of operations by Al Asifa, Fatah's military arm, against Israel. Several papers here, including AL ANWAR and AL MOHARRER, pro-UAR, and AL HAYAT, conservative right-wing, printed long feature articles issued by Fatah on the occasion. AL ANWAR printed photos of some of the Fatah men killed in action during 1969.

Of the statements made at the press conference, newspapers highlighted 1) the announcement

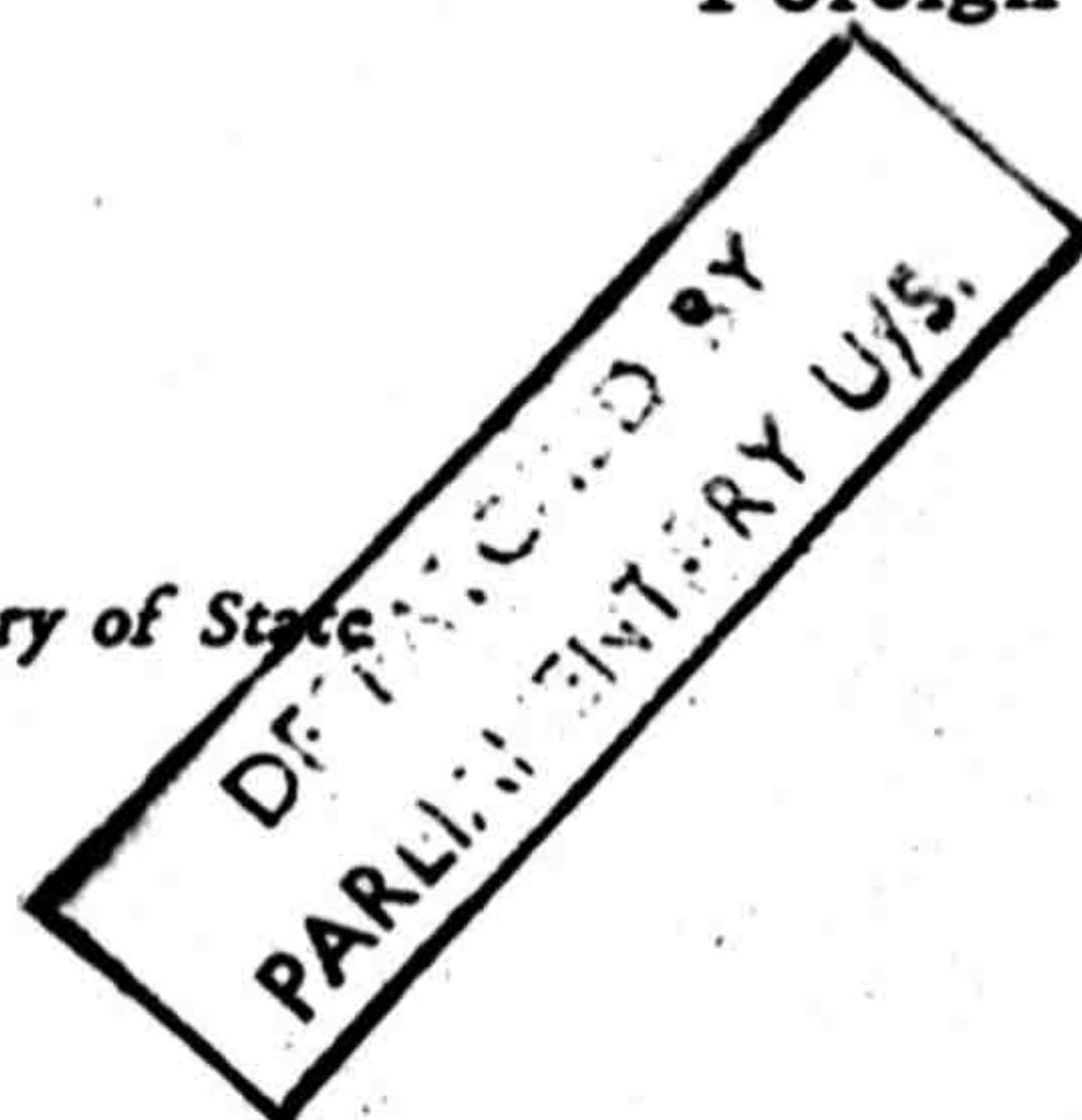


Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London S.W.1

From The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State

9 January, 1970.



P. J. 12/1

*67
NEQ 1/2*

As I have special responsibility within the Foreign and Commonwealth Office for Middle East affairs, I am replying to your letter of 12 December to Lord Chalfont about the Kurdish problem in Iraq.

You asked for a statement of Her Majesty's Government's attitude towards the dispute between the Iraqi Government and the Kurds. There is little that I can add to what the Prime Minister said in the House of Commons on 17 June, 1965, in reply to a question about the Kurds from Mr. Stanley Orme M.P., at a time when it was known that fighting was taking place between Kurdish elements and Iraqi Government forces:-

"Her Majesty's Government regret the resumption of fighting in Kurdistan, as any other instability in the Middle East. But we regard the Kurdish question as an internal Iraqi matter in which it would be inappropriate for us to interfere."

The dispute has continued intermittently since then, but since the basic elements of the problem have not changed there is no reason why we should not take a different view of the matter.

You also mentioned the dangers of a Communist takeover of the Kurdish movement's leadership. This may have been a possibility at the time of the Russian sponsored but short-lived Kurdish republic which was set up in North-West Iran just after the end of the Second World War. In recent years however there has been less evidence of Communist interest or involvement in the Kurdish question.

/We

Ian Tanner, Esq.,
2 Ladywood Mead,
Asket Hill,
LEEDS 8.



We would of course welcome an end to this long standing dispute. (In fact there have been recent reports of renewed contacts between the Iraqi Government and the Kurdish leaders.) The only practical solution however in present circumstances is one which is reached by mutual agreement between the Iraqi Government and the Kurds. Interference by other Governments would not be helpful.

Yours sincerely,

(D.E.T. Luard)

CONFIDENTIAL

Reference.....

Mr. Lugard

Was the attached
what you saw?

Mr. Ferguson
8/1

Mr. Ferguson

Kuros

he spoke yesterday. I attach
2 references for the Arab world which
may be of interest

They should, in my view, be treated
with caution as "informed travellers"
are not always good sources of
information. It may be that
be travellers in this.

There have been
negotiations before but have broken
down on the contents of the two parties
are in short. Also, the Kurds
get ^{financial & other} assistance from the Iranian Government
to continue to fight and this is a
powerful inducement for carrying on.

(POSITIONS)

Mr. Hincheliff

Mr. Lugard has made an addition
to the draft in one
your minute above and the attached.

Mr. Hincheliff

8/1/70

9/1 CONFIDENTIAL

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Mr. Miers

The Kurdish Problem

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... I attach a draft. Mr. Tanner's
... letter is also attached.

A. A. Acland

(A. A. Acland)
Near Eastern Department
5 January, 1970

Letter despatched

Nov A.S.

Jan 13/1

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Registry
No.

DRAFT Blue Minute

Type 1 +

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

Top Secret.
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Confidential.
Restricted.
Unclassified.

To:—

Mr. Miers

From

Mr. Acland

Telephone No. & Ext.

Department

PRIVACY MARKING

.....In Confidence

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Files (67)

File A.

 4/1

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No. NEQ.1/2

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To:—

Ian Tanner Esq.,
2 Ladywood Mead,
Asket Hill,
LEEDS 8

From

Mr. Luard
Telephone No. & Ext.

Department

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"Her Majesty's Government regret the resumption of fighting in Kurdistan, as any other instability in the Middle East. But we regard the Kurdish question as an internal Iraqi matter in which it would be inappropriate for us to interfere."

The dispute has continued intermittently since then, but since the basic elements of the problem have not changed there is no reason why we should now take a different view of the matter.

You also mentioned the dangers of a Communist take-over of the Kurdish movement's leadership. This may have been a possibility at the time of the Russian sponsored but short-lived Kurdish republic which was set up in North-West Iran just after the end of the Second

FLAC 'A'

DEFINITION BY
PARLIAM. 11/1/69

World War. In recent years ^{however} there has been less evidence of Communist interest or involvement in the Kurdish question.

We would of course welcome an end to this long standing dispute. The only practical solution however in present circumstances is one which is reached by mutual agreement between the Iraqi Government and the Kurds. Interference by other Governments would not be helpful.

(In fact there have been recent reports of renewed contacts between the Iraqi Government and the Kurdish leaders)

F. 8/11
H. 9/11

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Registry
No. NEQ 1/2

DRAFT Letter

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To:—
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Asket Hill,
LEEDS 8.

From
Mr. Luard
Telephone No. & Ext.

Department

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.....In Confidence

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flay B

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"Her Majesty's Government regret the resumption of fighting in Kurdistan as any other instability in the Middle East. But we regard the Kurdish question as an internal Iraqi matter in which it would be inappropriate for us to interfere." ~~The Kurdish/Iraqi Government dispute~~ ^{as the} has continued intermittently since then, however ~~the~~ ^{there is no reason why} basic situation has not changed ~~to the extent that~~ Her Majesty's Government should now take a different view of this question.

^{also} You mentioned the dangers of a Communist take-over of the Kurdish movement's leadership. I think ^{a possibility} that this may have been true at the time of the

/Russian

Russian sponsored ^{but short-lived} ~~(short-lived)~~ Kurdish republic ^{which was} set
up in North-West Iran just after the end of the
Second World War, ~~but~~ In recent years there has been
^{less} ~~little~~ evidence of Communist interest ^{movement} in the Kurdish question.

We would of course welcome an end to this long
standing dispute, ~~but I am sure that~~ the only practical
^{known in present circumstances} solution is one which is reached by mutual agreement
between the Iraqi Government and the Kurds ~~and~~
^{other} Interference by ~~the~~ Governments would not be helpful.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

Mr A. L. M. 15
I.R.D. (Mr. Chell) a Mr
General West (Mr. H. H. H.)
P.V. 50 (Mr. H. H. H.)
(1/8) Mr. H. H. H. (Mr. H. H. H.)
then enter. Mr. H. H. H.
New Peter, 5/12

RESTRICTED



British Embassy,
BAGHDAD.

(5)

6 December, 1969. RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No. 10
13 JAN 1970
NEQ 1/2

The Kurdish Problem

It is some time since the Embassy has sent any formal report on the problem of the Kurds within Iraq. The major reason for this is that there is little except rumour to be garnered here in Baghdad at this moment on this particularly thorny problem. As you will no doubt however have seen from the international press, for example Le Monde of 7 November, there are continuing stories of fighting in the Kurdish areas and the rumours here in Baghdad all tend to confirm that this is so, without offering much concrete evidence of the scale of fighting.

2. The Kurdish issue itself is virtually ignored in the central press in Iraq and it was therefore with some surprise that we saw in Al Jumhuriyah of 2 December the publication of a Decree by the Revolutionary Command Council setting up a committee to implement all R.C.C. resolutions concerning the Kurdish issue. The committee is to be under the Chairmanship of General Ammash and will have as members, General Saadun Ghaidan, Sayid Abdullah Salloum al-Samarra'ie and Sayid Murtadha al-Hadithi. All other Ministries are enjoined to implement decisions of this committee with the utmost speed and "without red tape".

3. Both The Baghdad Observer of 3 December and Al Nur of the same day carried editorials welcoming the new Decree of the R.C.C. The Al Nur editorial however expressed disappointment that there was no Kurd amongst the members of the committee and also reiterated its oft repeated theme that there should be a more equal distribution of jobs to Kurds in the government machine generally.

4. The latest decree follows on a number of other resolutions taken in the past by the R.C.C. to deal with the Northern area. The main ones were those granting amnesty to Kurdish detainees, the establishment of the Sulaimaniyah University and the Kurdish Academy of Letters, the introduction of the Kurdish language as an official language of instruction in all schools in the Northern area up to a higher education level and the creation, during the reorganisation of the Governorates, of a Governorate of Dahuq.

.../5.

P. R. M. Hinchcliffe, Esq.,
Near Eastern Department,
F.C.O.

RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED



- 2 -

*Words equal
deeds.*

5. Because of all these resolutions it has been customary for the R.C.C. to speak of the Kurdish problem as solved. For instance in the Iraqi Ambassador in Paris's answer to the 7 November Le Monde article, the point is made that the Kurdish problem is now over. The claim is of course absurd. But the setting up of this high-level committee suggests that the Government's desire to make positive progress is more serious than has previously been evident. The remedy is not of course entirely in their own hands.

*Yours,
J. H. Symons*

(J. H. Symons)

RESTRICTED

Thursday, January 29, 1970

3

6

IRAQ: ON THRESHOLD OF VITAL DECISIONS

Y. Primakov

During the night of January 20, a group of conspirators attempted to establish control over the Ar-Rashid military camp in the suburbs of Baghdad, capital of Iraq.

The coup was foiled, and the plotters were seized. Extremely reactionary elements, ranging from former army officers and generals, who served Nuri Said's royal government more than a dozen years ago, to "men" of the foreign oil companies, known for their "traditional" ties with the United States and Britain, joined forces in this attempt to overthrow the existing regime. According to a leader of the Iraqi Lawyers Association, none of the conspirators named in the papers could raise any doubt as regards the counter-revolutionary nature of their "enterprise."

Suffice it to say that the ringleader of the plotters was ex-Major General Abdel Gahni al-Rawi, an arrant reactionary, with fierce hatred for the democratic forces.

A number of adventurists from the midst of officers of the present Iraqi army also took part in the abortive coup. The conspiracy was hatched long ago: the initial steps in the sphere of the national oil policy, the advance of the agrarian reform, the recognition of the German Democratic Republic, the strengthening and expansion of all-round cooperation with the USSR, the dialogue between the ruling Baath Party with the Iraqi Communist Party, and a series of measures on settling the Kurd problem--all this predetermined the hostile attitude of imperialism and reaction towards the current Iraqi leadership. Material evidence is being exhibited in Baghdad showing that the anti-government coup on the night of January 20 was engineered by the US intelligence service and other external forces.

The ringleaders of the unsuccessful coup wanted to get into the Republican Palace. The Baghdad newspaper, Al-Thawrah, says that they did enter that place, but under rather curious circumstances. A patriotic officer, smuggled into the conspirators' camp in advance, reported to the "new leadership" on the "full success" of the coup and proposed that they "take over power" in the Republican Palace. The unsuspecting counter-revolutionaries, posing in their new role, began saluting the presidential bodyguards, but were arrested.

"We had comparatively little trouble in thwarting this dangerous attempt to overthrow the regime, because the foreign intelligence agencies were forced to hurry, and were unable to carry out all preparations," Abdullah Samarai, a member of the Ba'ath Party leadership, told me. "They were urged on by information that we were nearing agreement with the Kurds on a settlement in the North."

It has been learned from reliable sources that, for several weeks now, a dialogue has been going on between representatives of the government and the Kurd movement, headed by Mustafa Barzani. This dialogue is proceeding successfully: agreement on a whole number of important questions has been reached. It is believed that this dialogue can shortly enter its concluding stage, if, naturally, both sides show utmost goodwill both in defining that what has already been agreed upon, and in adopting a phased plan in achieving agreement on those concrete issues unsettled up till now.

There are cases when, at a certain stage for a country, an internal matter of some kind acquires exceptional importance. The Kurd question is unquestionably such a case in present-day Iraq, where every fifth Iraqi is a Kurd. Nine years of fratricidal war in the North have carried off thousands of lives. The country, which has set itself the goal of abolishing backwardness, which it inherited from colonial and semi-colonial times, has already thrown 600 million dinars, or 1,500 million dollars down the mouth of this war. The unsettled Kurd problem weakens Iraq at precisely the time when the Arab nations are waging a hard anti-imperialist struggle for elimination of the consequences of the Israeli aggression. But this is not the only matter, although all the above-mentioned is quite enough to have an idea of the extremely great importance for the Iraqi state of a peaceful settlement in the North.

"Right now, the country has reached the point where the fate of the whole revolution in Iraq actually depends on the settlement of the Kurd issue," Saddam Husein Tikriti, Vice-Chairman of the Council of the Revolutionary Command of Iraq, told me.

There is much meaning in these words. It is absolutely obvious that reaction reared and continues to rear its head on the crest of the war against Iraqi Kurdistan. On the soil of the bogus "insolubility" of the Kurd issue there sprouted--and can now sprout too--the reactionary elements that still exist in the army and that hanker to thrust themselves into state leadership in order to turn the country's clock back. Finally, the outstanding character of the Kurd problem has come to place a serious obstacle in the way of the establishment

of a national front, incorporating the Ba'ath Party, the Iraqi Communist Party and other progressive organisations; meanwhile, the furtherance or freezing of national progress hinges in no small degree on whether all the country's progressive, patriotic forces are able to establish closer relations and cooperate, or not.

To leave the Kurd issue unresolved may have a grave effect also on the Kurd movement itself. A month ago I happened to re-visit Northern Iraq, where I met Kurd leaders. One of them quite frankly noted the danger deriving from the increasing attempts of external forces to speculate on the Kurd movement. These forces care absolutely nothing for the just goals for which the Kurds are struggling. They seek to take advantage of the Kurd movement in order to block the stabilisation of the national regime in Baghdad, mute progressive anti-imperialist trends in the home and foreign policies of the present Iraqi leadership, and weaken Iraq as an element in the all-Arab front of struggle against the US-encouraged Israeli aggressors.

More than that, I was told, there is the danger--even be it thus far in the embryo--that these external forces to whom Kurd interests are alien will generally attempt to change the character of Kurd movement and emasculate it of its democratic substance. Consequently a peaceful settlement for the Kurds, I was told, is at the same time struggle for Kurd progress.

"A Kurd settlement must be an element of overall democratic progress in the Iraqi Republic and hence must serve to strengthen Iraq's national independence," Kurd leader Mustafa Barzani also intimated to Your Correspondent.

The other day the Council of the Revolutionary Command led by Ahmed Hassan Bakr reaffirmed the content of the June 29, 1966, communique on the Kurd problem. Honouring its commitments to provide a just and peaceful settlement for the Kurd problem, the Council of the Revolutionary Command has decided to grant a general pardon to all civilians and military involved in the events in the North.

As we see sound elements on both sides have reached the present juncture, aware of the need for constructive measures to secure a Kurd settlement. Now can we believe that understanding has already been attained as concerns the basic principles of settlement as well?

"Yes," Saddam Tikriti told me. This relatively young man, Iraq's No. 2, received Your Correspondent in that self-same Republican Palace into which the plotters sought to ride on white horses a few days ago.

The point of departure for a settlement, he said, must be recognition of the existence of the Kurd nation along with the Arab nation in Iraq. These two nations, he said, are territorially integrated and have a common destiny, and no obstacles may be put in the way of drafting a legislative constitutional formula that would ensure the Kurds' national rights. We,

Thursday, January 29, 1970

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he said, do not want a temporary time-serving decision but a Kurd settlement in Iraq once and forever, so that future generations never have to suffer because it is unresolved.

Iraq has approached^a milestone of historic importance to it. As one will remember the USSR has always advocated a peaceful democratic adjustment of this cardinal question for Iraq's destinies. Soviet people will be glad to see any progress in this matter--which will unquestionably strengthen both the national regime in Iraq and the anti-imperialist Arab front--as they have perennial ties of sincere friendship with both Arabs and Kurds.

(Pravda, January 29. In full.)

Decision on amnesty for Kurds (Text of Revolution Command Council Statement No. 39)

Out of belief in the aims of the blessed 17th July revolution; in confirmation of the revolution's care to fulfil its obligations in settling the Kurdish question peacefully and justly; and out of desire to create suitable conditions for the implementation of the 29th June 1966 Statement, the Revolution Command Council decrees the following:

(1) To grant a general amnesty to the participants in the incidents in the North, military and civilians. (2) To exempt the members of the armed forces from responsibility for the equipment, weapons and ammunition in their trust and from all material or legal consequences resulting from that trust. (3) Responsible authorities shall reinstate those included in this Statement in their former jobs as soon as they report for duty.

(Baghdad in Arabic 19.00 GMT 24.1.70)

(Text of Revolution Command Council

15.00 GMT: Text of Statement to the Beirut 'Al-Ahrar' by Saddam Husayn, Deputy Chairman of the Iraqi Revolution Command Council and Deputy Secretary General of the Iraqi Ba'th Party Regional Command:

Beirut: In an exclusive statement to the magazine 'Al-Ahrar' Comrade Saddam Husayn, Deputy Chairman of the Revolution Command Council and Deputy Secretary General of the Iraqi Ba'th Party Regional Command, has announced that a dialogue is under way between the Ba'th Party and the Iraqi Government on the one hand and Mustafa Barzani on the other. Asked about whether negotiations were taking place with Barzani, Husayn said: There is a dialogue between the Party and the Government on the one hand and Barzani on the other to reach a final formula for bringing about fraternisation between the Arab and Kurdish nationalities and for terminating any conduct which might harm this fraternity.

He added: There are no negotiations in the traditional sense of the word. What exists is a meeting and a dialogue between Arabs and Kurds, as sons of one people, to reach a final formula, as we have spoken about in the past. It is part of the dialogue which the Party has initiated in its newspapers and with all other patriotic forces to solve this age-old problem

Husayn said: What the newspaper 'Ath-Thawrah' has written on the subject reflects the Party's position. In general the Kurds are recognised as a separate nationality, but this nationality and fraternity cannot mean compromising Iraq's territorial integrity or the Iraqi people's unity.

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BRITISH EMBASSY

BAGHDAD

RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No. 10
- 4 FEB 1970

12 January 1970

NEQ 12

The Kurdish Problem

Since my letter 1/8 of 6 December there have been persistent rumours both here and in Beirut of contacts between the Iraqi Government and Mulla Mustafa Barzani. Most of them have however not been backed by any tangible proof and until now Iraqi officials have failed to confirm them.

2. During Mr. George Brown's visit however, three members of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs confirmed to me that such contacts are in progress without going into any detail about the subjects discussed or the progress made.

3. Most recent reports current here have suggested that a Barzanist delegation is in Baghdad and that its departure from the North has been accompanied by a cease-fire there. It was widely expected that this cease-fire would be publicly announced on the occasion of Army Day (6 January) but it was not. Reports differ on the composition of the Kurdish delegation. Some people have it that Idris Barzani himself, son of Mulla Mustafa, is here. But a Kurdish businessman in Baghdad who claims to have met members of the delegation denies that Idris is among them; he says that the delegation consists of seven leading Kurds including Dr. Mahmud Othman, Muhsin Dizaie (L.P.No. 105), Shawkat Akrawi (L.P.No. 131), Ihsan Shirzad (L.P. No. 71) and Saleh Yusufi, former editor of Al Ta'akhi. According to the same informant they have been negotiating with a government team led by Hardan Abdul Ghaffar Tikriti and Saleh Mehdi Amash and including Saadun Ghaidan, Murtadha al-Hadithi, Abdul Khaliq al Samarraie and Tariq Aziz among others. He maintains that a large measure of agreement, at least in principle, has been reached between the two sides and that a public announcement of this will be made next week. We shall see.

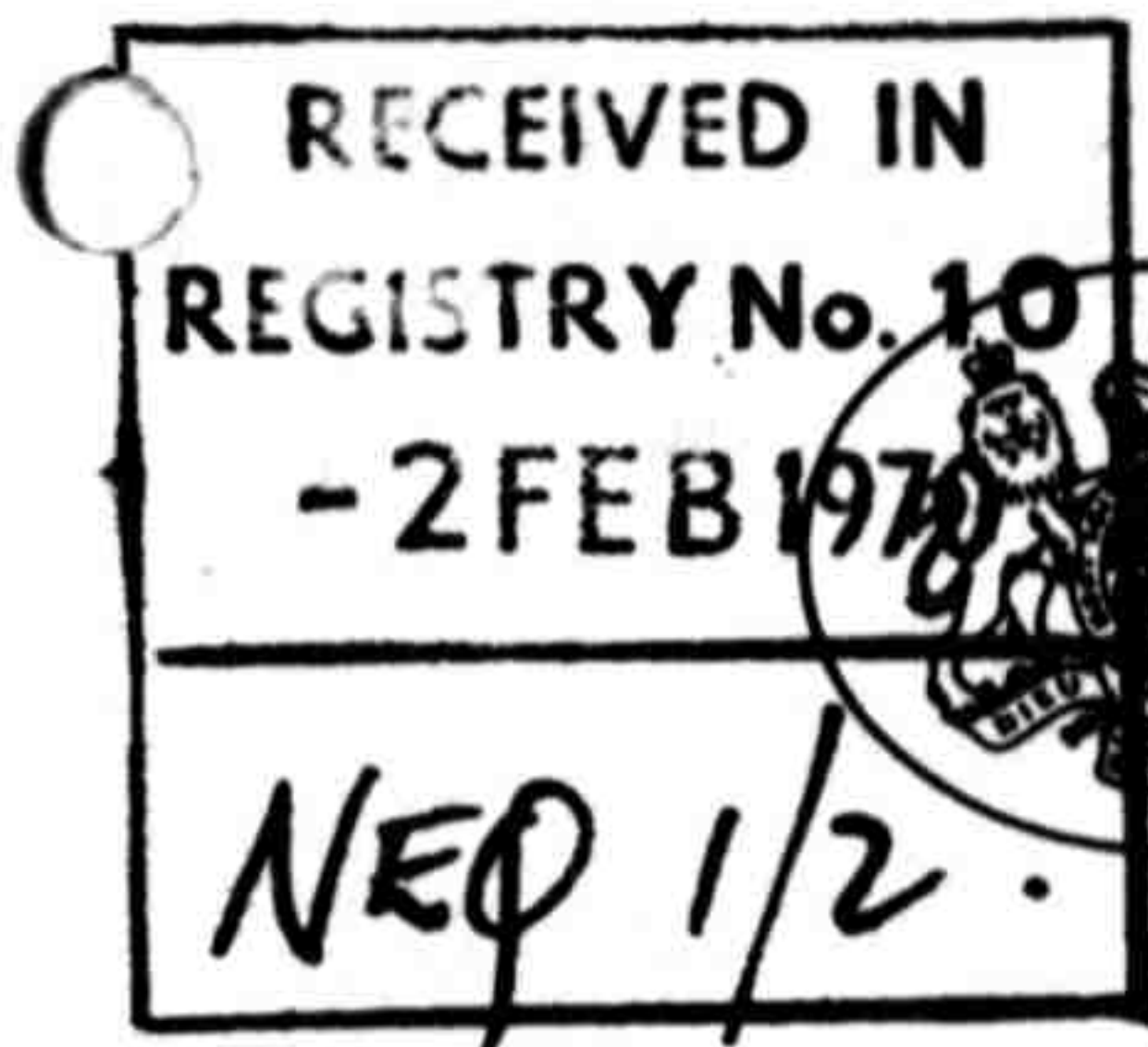
4. The composition of the government team is interesting when compared with the Kurdish Affairs Committee whose formation I reported in my letter of 6 December. The inclusion of the Minister of Defence might well however be expected in any talks regarding an end to the fighting regardless of the composition of the relevant government committee.

5. Whatever the accuracy of the details, it is now clear that talks are in progress and that they are said to be going well. If the talks prove successful, even to a limited degree, it will undoubtedly be a substantial feather in the cap of this government and could have considerable repercussions.

(J. H. Symons)

P. R. M. Hinchcliffe, Esq.,
Near Eastern Department,
F.C.O.

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BRITISH EMBASSY
MOSCOW

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Iraq

Brutal week,
restful Sunday

On the night of Tuesday, January 20th, a group of right-wing officers and civilians attempted to overthrow the Iraqi government—or so says the government. In the next four days, 37 alleged conspirators were tried by a special three-man tribunal, convicted and summarily executed; the soldiers shot, the civilians hanged. The occasion was taken to execute in addition seven men who had been convicted last month on allegations for spying for the Central Intelligence Agency. On Sunday the court rested, announcing its work done, for the time being.

The history of modern Iraq is stained by a series of violent blood-baths. But there has not before been mass legal killing on quite this scale. Last year 54 people were shot or hanged on political charges, mainly spying. That was bad; this year has begun worse.

Yet it looks as if these peculiarly savage means may have been used to achieve an end which by itself is indisputably desirable—peace with Iraq's Kurdish insurgents. The war against the Kurds, led by Mullah Barazani, has dragged on for nine years. A previous chance of ending it came in 1966. That was a year of relative sanity when Dr Bazzaz, as prime minister, proposed a 12-point peace programme which Mullah Barazani accepted by telegram within two hours of its announcement. A couple of months later, Dr Bazzaz was forced out of office, the programme was never implemented, but Barazani and his followers have refused to negotiate on anything else. The hopeful thing now is that on the Sunday when the tribunal finished its bloody work Iraq's revolutionary command council not only declared a general amnesty for all Kurds but committed itself specifically to creating the conditions in which Dr Bazzaz's programme could be implemented.

Certainly there will be opposition in Iraq, and in particular within the armed forces, to these proposals. There are hard-line Iraqi nationalists who want, like hardliners around the world, to crush rebellion and who reject the recognition of Kurdish nationality and the limited form of self-government spelt out in Dr Bazzaz's programme. Whether or not Iraq's leaders were urged towards peace by Russia, as is suggested in the following article from Teheran, the Baath party, to which most of them belong, is intellectually more open-minded towards

minority ethnic groups than are some other Arab nationalist parties. And it is arguable that the regime wanted to rid itself of a variety of potentially dangerous opponents before embarking on peace negotiations.

It did so with a vengeance. The Baath party's overwhelming weakness, apart from its own bitter internal splits, is that it has no popular following and no allies—though it has been trying in recent months to get on better terms with its traditional and most feared enemy, the Iraqi communist party. Given the regime's isolation, there could, as it claims, have been a conspiracy, and it could have come from almost any direction. The Iraqis are blaming the Americans (which goes without saying these days) and the Iranians (which is a variation). It is claimed that a consignment of arms for the conspirators, including 3,000 machine-guns, was smuggled across the Iranian frontier.

Possibly there was an attempted coup. But the timing of the trials and executions fits so opportunely with the announcement of the peace efforts that one suspects more than straight coincidence. Among the many unanswered questions, here are two. Was it necessary for 44 men to die in production-line legal murder in order to usher in a saner policy towards the rebellious north? And will Dr Bazzaz, author of the borrowed programme, now be released from what is said to be his house arrest?



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Kurds in Iraq
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Near Eastern Department,

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5 February, 1970

(NEQ.1/2)

The Kurdish Question

Thank you for your very interesting and comprehensive accounts (your letters of 12 and 31 January) of recent developments in the north.

2. The possible settlement of this longstanding dispute has been the subject of some comment in the British press. In the course of a long article, the Financial Times of 4 February refers to European support for the Kurds but does not, surprisingly enough, go on to make the point (which has also escaped the attention of all other journalists whose articles I have seen) that the recent marked deterioration in Iraq/Iran relations could well be the biggest obstacle to the successful conclusion of the negotiations between the Iraq regime and the Kurds.

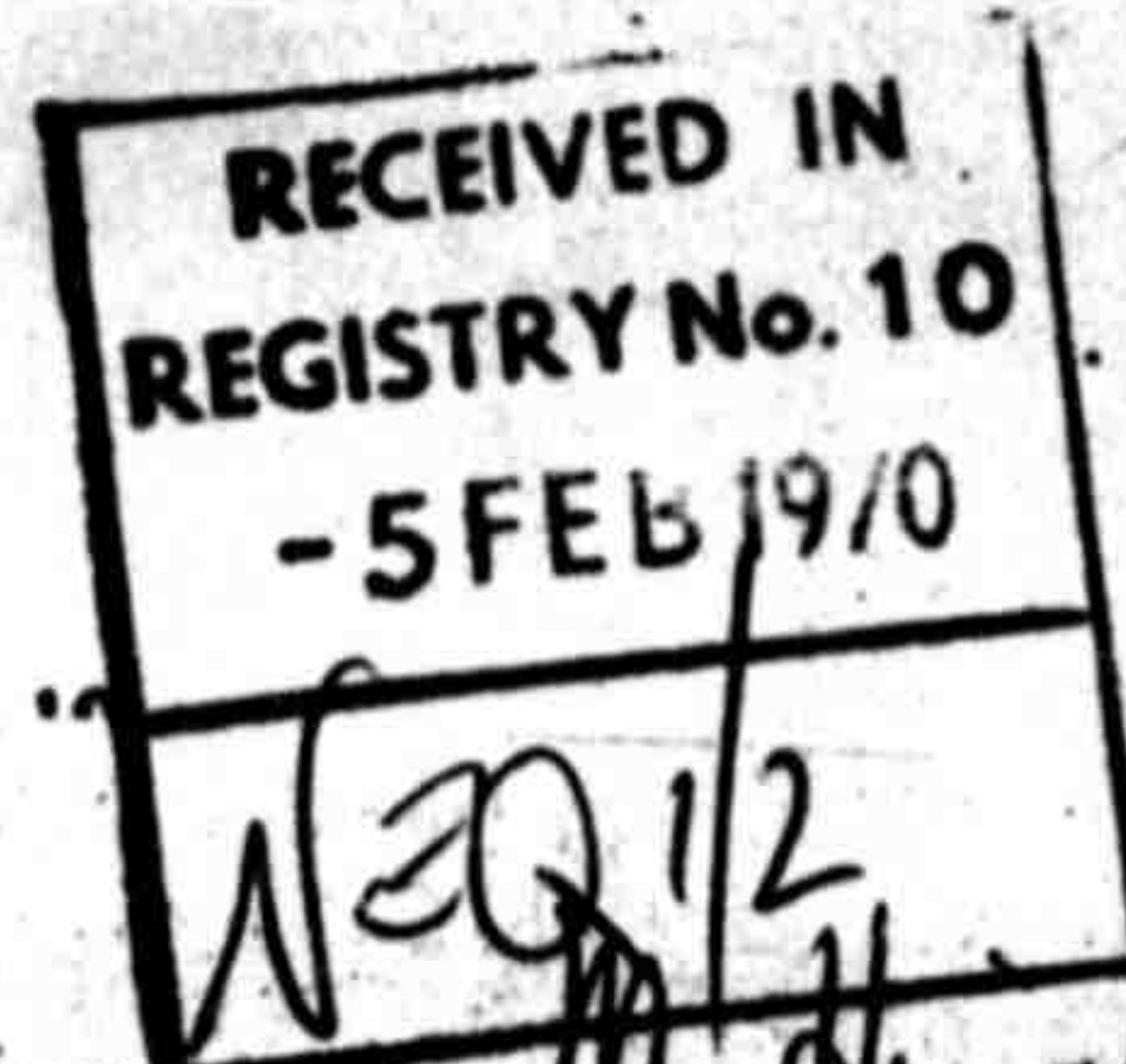
(P. R.M.Hinchcliffe)

J. H. Symons Esq.,
BAGHDAD

c.c. Chanceries TEHRAN
BEIRUT

CONFIDENTIAL

- 4 FEB 1970



THE KURDISTAN WAR

Baathists anxious to make peace

BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

EARLY in January, unannounced to the outside world, a Kurdish delegation from Kala-Diza arrived at the White Palace in Baghdad, to try and bring an end to the war in Kurdistan. They conferred with an ad hoc committee nominated by the Baathist Revolutionary Council. Peace feelers had already been put out by Baghdad in December when the Government realised that its forces were getting no nearer victory in Kurdistan, and decided that the £100m. spent on the war could be better used elsewhere.

Two thirds of Iraq's regular army—about 60,000 men—have been tied down in Kurdistan for a year—the remaining 30,000 are divided between security duties in Baghdad, and a token force on the Arab Eastern Front in Jordan. Their forces, supported by 20,000 irregular mercenaries, have made no progress since September, when they massacred two villages near Mosul. In November half an Iraqi division spent 40 days trying to reach the Turkish border at Zakho. At the same time another force was driven back by Kurdish bazookas on the plain at Erbil, and near Surdash-Dukan the Iraqis suffered further defeats. The Kurds admit that this war has been brought to a close by nothing as dramatic as the 1966 Handrin disaster, when thousands of Arabs were surrounded and laid down their arms; but the cumulative impact of successive failures has had the same result.

Civilian losses

In the past five months, government forces have sustained 1,000 casualties, chiefly among mercenaries which include a number of Jalal Talabani's pro-Government Kurdish socialists. Barzani's commandos (the Pesh Megas—"those who face death") have probably lost only 100 men, though civilian losses are far higher; and over 13,000 families are receiving Kurdish government help after losing members in successive revolts during the 1950s and '60s.

The Baathists' desire for peace has recently been considerably strengthened by an abortive coup in Baghdad. Hassan Al Bakr has long been aware that he has no solid support in Iraq—as General Kassem had the Communists, Aref the Nationalists, and Bazzaz most of the uncommitted population. He also knows that the Kurds have numerous anti-Baathist connections in Baghdad, and although the blame for the coup has not been put on Kurdish shoulders, there is always the possibility that a concerted Kurdish and anti-Baathist effort could overthrow the present government. The Baathist Revolutionary Council is desperately anxious to stay in power, and some reduction in the number of its enemies is essential



Mustafa Barzani

for this to end. They are also aware that it is partly Iranian aid that is helping the Kurdish war effort; and so every Kurdish success amounts to an Iraqi loss of face in the propaganda battle with Teheran.

Worse still is Barzani's threat to the £400m. Iraq Petroleum Company oil installations at Kirkuk and Erbil, which yield over 75 per cent. of the Iraqi budget, and in which Britain has a 38 per cent. interest. Last March Kurdish commandos destroyed selected parts of the refinery at Kirkuk (though Baghdad's war policy has previously been based on the reasoning that even these losses might be preferable to a total Kurdish take-over of the installations, if partial autonomy were ever to lead to complete independence).

For their part, the Kurdish leadership has admitted that its people are suffering from acute war-weariness, and that they are prepared to accept peace on terms short of complete independence. The delegation in Baghdad has made four demands. The first is that the government should grant some form of partial home rule and recognise the Kurdish national right to their own language and culture. In addition the Kurds insist on having their fair share of the national budget (30 per cent.) spent on schools, roads, hospitals and other capital projects in their part of the country. Secondly they demand the removal of Arab tribes settled in Kurdistan, the disbanding of mercenary forces, and the withdrawal of the Iraqi army

from strategic positions within Kurdistan. The Pesh Megas in return will do the same on their side of the front. Thirdly Barzani wants to see the machinery to implement the settlement established simultaneously, and have the agreement guaranteed by the United Nations.

Finally, as neither side will trust the other, a slightly reduced force of Pesh Megas is to be maintained under arms as a national guard for northern Iraq.

At full strength the Kurdish commandos number 18,000 divided into units ranging from seven to 500, and armed with rifles, light machine-guns, and grenades. They are supported by over 100 light anti-aircraft guns, 20 25-pounder field guns, captured from the Iraqis, a number of mortars, and bazookas bought from sources outside Iraq. Around 90 per cent. of their munitions have been captured from government forces, but the Kurds admit that they have no difficulty in buying the rest through the international arms trade.

No official announcement on the outcome of negotiations has yet been issued either by Baghdad or the Kurdish rebels, and it is not known exactly how much the Kurds will be prepared to dilute their claim for home rule if their other conditions are guaranteed. But some sort of settlement seems likely, and the Baathists will be able to use a period of peace to strengthen their control over Iraq, and to increase their contribution to the struggle against Israel.

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Kurds pact reported

From Our Correspondent

Beirut, Feb. 4

The Beirut newspaper Al-Anwar, which is close to the ruling Iraq Baath regime, said today that agreement had been reached between the Kurds and the Iraq Government, and was expected to be announced on Sunday.

Fighting between Government forces and the Kurds led by Mulla Mustafa al-Barzani, known as the "Red Mulla," has been going on for years with short periods of a tense peace. The last pause was when Dr. Abdel-Rahman al-Bazzaz, who is now detained, was Prime Minister in 1966. When he was ousted, the Government went back on their promises of limited self-rule for the Kurds, and intermittent fighting was resumed.

Talks with Mulla Mustafa's representatives began in September and ended last weekend, Al-Anwar said.

Mr. Hinchcliffe
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BRITISH EMBASSY

BAGHDAD

31 January 1970

RECEIVED IN

REGISTRY No. 10

- 5 FEB 1970

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The Kurdish Question

Since my letter 1/4 of 12 January there have been a number of developments here. Saddam Hussain has said in an interview with the Beirut newspaper Al Ahrar that talks with the Kurds are going on, Hardan Abdul Ghaffar has spoken about the talks while on a visit to the Lebanon, and the Revolutionary Command Council has issued a statement declaring a general amnesty for all persons who have participated in the events in the North. The government newspapers here have reproduced under banner headlines a summary of an article by Primakov in Pravda based partly on an interview with Saddam Hussain and partly on contacts with the Kurds. The article welcomes the improved prospects for a settlement and one is left with the impression that the Soviet Union may not have been inactive in this question.

2. These positive steps have been accompanied by an increase in editorial comment in the newspapers supporting a settlement of the Kurdish question, and expressing hopes for a successful outcome to the talks. Most of the articles have appeared, as might be expected, in Al Nur but of greater importance has been a long article in Al Thawra of 26 January speaking of the need for the Kurdish and Arab peoples in Iraq to join together and to achieve their legitimate aims in a peaceful and democratic settlement. The article argues that neither side should attempt to speak from a position of strength as extremist claims from either party would only lead to the eventual breakdown of any agreement. Al Thawra claims that the Kurds have the best possible chance of reaching an agreement at the present stage under a Ba'ath socialist government dedicated to the revolutionary and democratic unity of the country since previous talks and "Agreements" between the Kurds and the central power in Iraq have always been based on the personality of one Iraqi leader; the paper quotes such agreements with Qasim, Abdul Salam Arif and Bazzaz.

3. Apart from this atmosphere of welcome for possible developments in the talks between the two sides, there has been the encouraging feature of the complete absence of any government accusation of Kurdish implication in the abortive coup of 20/21 January. We have commented on this separately in our accounts of the coup. Nonetheless it does seem of great importance in the Kurdish context that the Kurds have not been accused of plotting and it shows a welcome reluctance on the part of the Ba'ath government to jeopardise the possible success of their talks with the Kurds.

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Beirut

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4. The left wing character of the delegation sent by Barzani would suggest that he entered the talks with a willingness to find a way to agreement with the government. Had he sent his real hardliners there would have been little prospect of success. There have been some indications of the possible demands put by the Kurds to the Ba'ath. It is widely reported that apart from the four governmental ministerial posts, which seem to be a common element in both sides reckoning of the Kurds' rights, they have asked for five places on the Revolutionary Command Council. Various figures have been quoted for the amount of money which Barzani thinks should be devoted to the development of the North in, as it were, compensation for the damage done by the fighting. Of these ID 70 million a year is the most widely quoted. It is assumed that Barazani would require the complete disarmament of the Kurdish irregular forces under Talabani whilst retaining, at government expense, the use of his own pish merga. But we have no hard facts on any of these points. It is now rumoured however, that most of the delegation have returned to the North for further discussions with Barazani.

5. As a further indication of the government's wish to settle affairs in the North, the R.C.C. has issued a declaration giving full freedom to the Turcoman people to enjoy cultural rights in their own areas. This announcement has been welcomed in telegrams to the government from Mosul and Irbil, but significantly there have been no such telegrams of support from the main Turcoman area of Kirkuk. It is hard to judge exactly why this should be so but one element may be the execution among those implicated in the plot of 20/21 January of Dr. Nidham Uddin Arif, a Turcoman of a prominent Kirkuk family. We understand that his family have travelled from Baghdad to Kirkuk for a large funeral ceremony.

6. Despite all these developments there is still little evidence which can help us in deciding whether the government is likely this time to succeed in making its peace with the Kurds. Saddam Hussain in conversation with one of our Western colleagues has expressed optimism that agreement will be reached and our Soviet colleagues are also still optimistic. It is still being rumoured that an announcement will soon be made recording at least some degree of agreement in principle. The latest date suggested for such a statement is 8 February which will be the anniversary of the 14 Ramadhan Revolution. However, with so many anniversaries in Iraq rumour always has it that an important announcement is expected on the next anniversary, so this may well be merely a reflection of this common Iraqi habit. With expectations of substantial progress on this issue being built up in the public mind, it will not be easy for the government to explain away their failure if these expectations are eventually not realised.

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Jm
(J. H. Symons)

*The Iraqis
will do their
best to make
sure that
there is no
agreement*

Day's Main News And Trends, Cont'd

NEQ 1/2

(13)

onomy Minister, Mr Suleiman Franjeh, announced that Government's estimation of "back-taxes" which MEDRECO owes the Government since 1956 is 13 million dollars. He explained that the Government calculations were based on its demand for a reduction in the posted prices applied by MEDRECO. The Minister also said that the Government has asked for new negotiations with MEDRECO, owned by Mobil Oil and Caltex, and with the internationally-owned IPC. The Minister pointed out, however, that an agreement reached earlier with IPC still stands.

It will be recalled that during earlier sessions of Parliament, during which the subject of strengthening Lebanon's defenses was discussed, a number of Deputies urged the Government to bring pressure to bear on MEDRECO to have the latter pay what the Government regards as back payments retroactive to 1956.

[Actually, the question of payments from MEDRECO is not that simple. There is a long history of negotiations between the Lebanese Government and the company. In March, last year, the Government set up a special Petroleum Advisory Committee to help the Government in its negotiations with MEDRECO. The negotiations were to begin that month, but the ensuing Cabinet resignation as a result of the troubles in April, stopped the negotiations. At the time, reports published in the Beirut press said that the Government wanted the following from MEDRECO: 1. Reducing the current posted price of 217 cents per barrel. 2. The Lebanese Government should not bear any losses incurred by MEDRECO as a result of sale of fuel oil. 3. The MEDRECO refinery should ensure constant reserves in Lebanon -- and the same should apply to the IPC refinery in Tripoli. (The Medreco refinery is in Sidon). 4. Collection by the Government of "back taxes" from MEDRECO retroactive to 1955.

[After negotiations earlier, an agreement, supplemental to the one reached in 1945, when MEDRECO was established, was reached in 1965, but it was rejected by Parliament because the Deputies thought it did not fulfill Lebanon's demands, and the Deputies also demanded that the 1956 law should be applied to MEDRECO, retroactive to 1955, when the refinery went into operation. MEDRECO takes the stand that the income tax law does not apply to it, and sticks to the 1945 convention with the government which exempted from income tax, and says that lack of agreement here should be subject to arbitration, as provided in the convention.

[On the question of reduction of the posted price, MEDRECO was reported to take the stand that the posted price of \$2.17/bbl at Sidon, and which was set in August-September 1960, cannot be really lower because it is the tax-reference price for tax payments to the Saudi Government, and that after the efforts of OPEC since 1960, it has become relatively impossible to lower a posted price].

ANNOUNCEMENT OF ACCORD WITH KURDS "IMMINENT"

Iraq

According to a special dispatch from Baghdad published today in AL ANWAR, pro-UAR and a supporter of the Iraqi regime, announcement of an agreement between the Iraqi Government and the Kurdish insurgents under leader Mulla Mustafa Barzani, is imminent. The paper confirmed that Mr Sidam Hussein Takriti, Vice Chairman of the Revolution Command Council, had visited the north to finalize the agreement, and that a Barzani delegation under Saleh Al Youssefi is in Baghdad. The paper said that under the agreement, Barzani will nominate two of his representatives in the Iraqi Cabinet, and that the "Pesh Mergha", the Kurdish insurgent army, will become a "National Guard" in the northern border areas. The Kurds, according to the paper, will turn their arms over to the Government, and that in exchange, the Government will pull out the armed forces from the Kurdish areas.

"PLOT." Meanwhile, Beirut's AL RAYAH, which speaks for the Baath Party faction in Damascus, said today that most of those who participated in the abortive plot against the Baathist regime in Baghdad last week, were the same who were the partners of the Baathists in the July, 1968, coup which brought down the regime of President Abdel Rahman Aref. The paper, which is campaigning against the Iraqi Baath, said that the "plotters" were followers of Abdel Razzak Al Nayef, who was Premier for 13 days after Aref was overthrown and who was deposed and deported on July 30th, 1968, by the Baathists.

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Today's Main News And Trends, Cont'd

ly, the Iranian concentrations began after Teheran in April, 1969, unilaterally abrogated the 33-year-old treaty with Iraq regarding navigation in the Shatt Al Arab waterway. These concentrations, the Minister said, increased after Iraq foiled the abortive attempt against the regime last Tuesday night, the Minister was quoted as saying. He urged the Arab states to stand by Iraq, and said that Iran has been turned into grounds for CIA "conspiracies" not only against Iraq but against all the Arab states.

To Discourage Other "Plotters." Meanwhile, Taha Al Jazrawi, who headed the "Special Court" which sentenced 37 Iraqis to death for participating in the reported plot, has said in an interview on Baghdad television that one reason why the sentences were carried out so promptly was to discourage others who may be thinking of plotting against the regime.

Since last Wednesday, 44 Iraqis were executed either by a firing squad or by hanging. Seven of these had earlier been convicted of spying for the U.S. by the "Revolutionary Court." The rest were connected with the reported abortive plot against the regime.

Jazrawi, whose remarks are reproduced today by AL ANWAR, pro-UAR and pro-Baghdad, said that his court issued its verdicts very quickly because there was conclusive evidence against the "plotters." The prompt executions, he said, "also had a far-reaching purpose: to discourage others who intend to plot (against the regime) so they may not do it."

SETTLEMENT OF KURDISH PROBLEM. The Iraqi regime over the weekend took what appeared to be the first step for settlement of the Kurdish problem. A decree issued by the Revolution Command Council, and broadcast by BAGHDAD RADIO, provided full amnesty for all those who had been connected with the Kurdish insurrection. It stated that these persons will also be reinstated in their former jobs --and the decree appeared to relate to those who had deserted from the Army and the police force.

Significantly, the decree said that the steps have been taken in fulfillment of the Government's obligations under the June 29th, 1966, Declaration on the Kurds. This suggested that the current talks between the Government and a delegation representing Kurdish insurgent leader Mustafa Barzani, are based on the 1966 Declaration, which, it will be recalled, was reached with the Kurds by former Premier Dr Abdel Rahman Al Bazzaz.

[The Kurds, incidentally, were reported to insist on Bazzaz's release. Bazzaz is serving a 15-year sentence, after the Revolutionary Court found him guilty of conspiracy against the regime. Informed sources said that while the Iraqi Government is reluctant to see Bazzaz completely free, it has offered to release him from prison if he would agree to live under restricted residence at the district of Diwaniyah south of Baghdad. Bazzaz reportedly turned down the offer, demanding his full freedom, and agreeing to go to London to seek medical treatment. He suffers of a chronic diabetes.]

THE ARAB WORLD had already reported that a Barzanist delegation under Barzani's top lieutenant, Saleh Al Youssefi, was in Baghdad holding talks with Iraqi leaders on the proposed Kurdish settlement. It will be recalled that the 1966 12-point Declaration provides for giving the Kurds self-Government in predominantly Kurdish areas in northern Iraq.

Turcomans. At this time, the RCC issued a decree aimed at promoting rights of another Iraqi minority, the Turcomans. The decree provided for teaching the Turcoman language in Iraqi schools and for allowing the publication of a Turcoman magazine. The Turcomans, said to number about 300,000, inhabit mainly the Kirkuk and Mosul districts.

- 6 FEB 1970

Cutting dated

19 Some form of agreed truce or settlement of the eight-year war between the Kurds and successive Iraqi regimes now seems likely to be announced shortly, possibly over the week-end.

But there is little chance that this marks the end of the Kurdish struggle for autonomy in the face of what the Kurds regard as a war of genocide by Iraq.

Ba'athist sources in Beirut have already reported an agreement. Kurdish representatives in Tehran and London have been standing by for some kind of truce since the Ba'athist regime sent intermediaries for confidential talks with the Kurdish leaders late last autumn.

No one, least of all the forces on the ground, will believe agreement has been reached until radio announcements are made by both sides. In the course of the war Bagdad Radio has four

times reported the death of the Kurdish leader, General Barzani, only to revive him a few months later for further denunciations.

Kurdish sources outside Iraq believe the Ba'ath regime conceded some weeks ago the right of the Kurds to maintain their own army in Iraqi Kurdistan. This would be an absolute condition before Barzani could agree to withdraw his front line commandos Pesh Megars ("facing death")—which is almost certainly the key point in the present agreement.

It leaves the 2½ million Kurds in Iraq relatively secure. Barzani controls a long strip of Iraq, about a third of the total area, bordering on Iran and Turkey and touching Syria.

His forces are likely to be stationed at positions about two hours from the front, while the Government forces will almost certainly have to retire to camps about six days away.

But the question remains how far the Government will relinquish control of the major towns and roads it controls in Kurdistan. This is crucial to both sides; the oil installations in Kurdish territory supply about 60 per cent of the Iraqi budget, urgently needed for schools and hospitals.

An agreed ceasefire is in the interest of both sides. The Ba'athist regime has had to commit the bulk of its forces in Kurdistan and has been able to send only a few thousand

to Jordan. It was promised more.

The regime enjoys only fractional support in Iraq; its unease was clearly demonstrated by last month's stage-managed coup and the purge which followed.

While the Ba'athists made it clear that they did not believe the Kurds to be part of that plot, which was unveiled in the middle of the negotiations with Barzani, the regime would not like to have to cope with a real plot organised with Kurdish support.

Although the fighting has stopped almost completely in the last month, the Kurds still face an economic blockade and severe shortages. Sugar was

recently selling at about £2 a lb. in the towns and is unobtainable in the remote areas.

There are also said to be acute shortages of petrol, oil, and paraffin, and medical supplies. If the Government recognises Kurdish rights, it must allow supplies in and make some attempt to give the Kurds—a quarter of the population of Iraq—a fair share of the Iraqi budget.

The Kurds have no reason to trust the Ba'athists or to believe that any outbreak of peace will be long-lived. They also remember the village massacres of last year, they know their military and political power, and they still have hopes of eventual recognition of Kurdish sovereignty through the United Nations.

Truce likely in Kurd war

By ALAN SMITH



Reg. No. 10 - 9 FEB 1970

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1/2

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NEW 1/2

UNCLASSIFIED

RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No. 10
- 9 FEB 1970

NEQ 1/2

Reference.....

Near Eastern Department,
Rm. W.133,
Downing St., West.

IRAQ AND THE KURDISH QUESTION

We spoke on the telephone about the article by Primakov in Pravda of 29 January on the recent attempt at a coup and the possibility of a solution to the Kurdish question. The following are the one or two quotations which I promised you.

(i) "In Baghdad there is on show substantial evidence indicating that the anti-Government manifestation of 21 January was 'cooked-up' by the American Intelligence Service and other foreign forces."

(ii) "It has become known from reliable sources that a dialogue has been going on for several weeks between representatives of the Government and the Kurdish movement, headed by M. Barzani. The dialogue is progressing successfully. Several important questions have been agreed. It is considered that the dialogue may very shortly reach a concluding stage, of course, if both sides show the maximum of good will both in setting out the understanding already achieved and in adopting a phased plan for settling the specific questions which it has not been as yet possible to solve. It sometimes happens that at a certain stage some isolated internal problem becomes of exceptionally great importance for a country. For Iraq today this is doubtless the Kurdish question. ... The fact that the Kurdish problem is unsettled weakens Iraq at the very moment when the Arab peoples are waging a serious anti-Imperialist struggle to eliminate the consequences of the Israeli aggression. ... 'At the present time, at this very moment our country has reached a stage where the fate of the whole revolution in Iraq in fact depends upon the solution of the Kurdish question' - as the author of these lines was told by the Deputy Chairman of the Council of the Revolutionary Command of Iraq Saddam Husein Tikriti."

(iii) "Finally, the fact of the unsettled Kurdish problem has become a serious barrier in the way of creating a National Front involving the participation of the Baath Party, the Iraqi Communist Party and other progressive organisations and whether the country's progress will be continued or frozen will depend to a large extent on the success of the lack of success achieved in establishing rapprochement and cooperation between all the progressive patriotic forces of Iraq."

/(iv)

RECEIVED IN THE U.S. MARINE CORPS
C. 15510
Downing St., West.
Rm. 6-155
Near Eastern Department,
Reference

(iv) "Iraq has reached an important historical milestone. It is well known that the U.S.S.R. has always favoured a peaceful democratic solution of this question which is of the greatest importance for the fate of Iraq. Soviet people will be pleased to see any success in this matter, which will doubtless strengthen the national regime in Iraq and reinforce the anti-Imperialist Arab Front..."

K. A. Bishop.

(K.A. Bishop)

Soviet Section,

Research Department,

5 February, 1970

Irish."

(vi) \

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RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No. 10
12 FEB 1970

NEQ 1/2

BRITISH EMBASSY

BAGHDAD

7 February 1970

17

TO: JACOB
NEW CIRCULAR
WITH ENCLOSURE

TO: (18)

Mr. Mansour
Mr. Wilson
(Chester)

Mr. G. (1.20)
P. J. (1.20)

The Kurdish Problem

I enclose a copy of a minute by Donald Hawley recording a recent conversation with Marouf Aref (a Kurd) on recent developments in the negotiations.

2. Aref goes some way towards confirming much of that which we have already reported. New points are the extent to which agreement has allegedly been reached, the idea of Fuad Aref (LP 1965, No. 73) as Vice-President and the use of the Pish Merga as border guards.

3. Yet there are many lacunae in Aref's account. It really gives very little idea of what the Kurds are going to gain by the agreement and, perhaps natural from a Kurd, it over-emphasises to my mind the alleged weakness of the government. It is of course obvious that Taha Muhiddin will be the first casualty of an agreement between the two parties. He has long been a target for Barzanist propaganda attacks.

4. The alleged reason for Abdullah Salloum al Samarraie's fall from Ministerial office also has the signs of an inflated Kurdish sense of importance. We have reported on the probable reasons for his change of office.

5. The two major points which Aref has left untouched seem to me to be the question of finance for the Pish Merga - from whom, for how many and where will they receive payment - and Kurdish representation on the Revolutionary Command Council, the real wielder of power in this country. Both these questions are of vital interest to Barzani and seem likely to prove difficult to solve.

6. We have heard separately from the Ministry of Information that an announcement is to be made about progress in the talks on 8 February, but there are also widespread rumours that the talks have again run into difficulties.

7. The Turkish Military Attaché has given us an interesting account of a journey he made earlier this week to the North. After visiting Kirkuk he went to Jaloula on the road between

/Baghdad

P. R. M. Hinchcliffe, Esq.,
Near Eastern Department,
F.C.O.,
London S.W.1.

P. AMM

2/2

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Baghdad and the Iranian frontier beyond Khanaqin. He was invited to lunch by the Commander of the 6th Armoured who has his headquarters there. Among the others present were Jalal Talabani and the Commander of the Field Force Said Hammu al Haj Salih. Talabani was in the best of spirits and seemingly happy at the prospect of success in the talks between Barzani and the Government. This seems on the face of it extraordinary as most observers here have assumed that an agreement with the Kurds would mean the end of Talabani's stay in this country, with at most the consolation prize of an Ambassadorship.

*Yours,
JH*

(J. H. Symons)

c.c. Chancery: Tehran
Beirut

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Near Eastern Department,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office
London S.W.1

18



(NEQ 1/2)

12 February, 1970

Dear John.



I have just opened the envelope containing your letter of 7 February about the Kurdish problem, but unfortunately can find no trace of the minute by Donald Hawley referred to in your first paragraph.

RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No. 10

19 FEB 1970

NEQ 1/2

I should be very grateful if you could send a copy as soon as possible.

Yours ever
Pete

(P. R. M. Hinchcliffe)

Mr. Hinchcliffe,

Herewith my
apologies for this
omission.

J. H. Symons, Esq.,
BAGHDAD.

JH Smith
14/2

~~Do with original cover~~

Let's *MM*

CONFIDENTIAL

19/2

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Reference

H.E. 7/4

H of C

1st Sec. (Mr. McNaught)

D.A.

1st Sec (D/S)

Kurdish Question

Mr. Marouf Aref called on me on 2 Feb. BCO to discuss certain projects. He was cheerful and optimistic about an early solution to the Kurdish question. In particular he made the following points:-

(a) Agreement had now been reached between the government and Mulla Mustafa. It was finalized at the end of last week and Azziz Sharif, who had been seen with Mulla with Fuad Aref, had been doing the drafting. He was expected back tomorrow.

(b) The agreement would provide for a Kurdish President (Fuad Aref) and four Kurdish Ministers. This would involve the dismissal of the Minister of Works (Taha Muhiddin), who was "a bad sort of Kurd".

(c) Negotiations had been conducted in the North, Beirut and at the White House in Baghdad at various stages during December and January. The first was made by President Bakr who sent Fuad Aref to the North in December with, I think, Aboul Kalam Sammarai. Aflak had been consulted more than once.

(d) The Baath regime had negotiated with Mulla Mustafa because they were in a weak position. The USSR had brought heavy pressure to bear on the sides. Mulla Mustafa's calculation was that it was an advantage to negotiate with a weak regime. The agreement was likely to stick even if the regime changed.

(e) Saddam Hussein al Takriti had been personally involved in the negotiations and he had had a tête-à-tête with Mulla Mustafa in the North in January - at this time. Mr. George Brown had made it plain that the Baath regime was not making a settlement and did not expect the Kurds to give up their claims to regional autonomy. Others involved in the negotiations were General Hardan al Takriti, General Ammass, Murtadha al Haqithi, Aboul Kalam Sammarai, as well as Fuad Aref, Shirid al Khatib, and Kalam Sammarai.

(f) One of the reasons for Abdulla Salom's demotion from his position as Minister of National Guidance was that he had succumbed to Talabanist pressure to allow the Mulla to be in the press in December. Another reason was a scandal in connection with a woman in his office.

(g) He was hopeful that there would now be some development in the North and he hoped that private firms would participate in this. The government was

agreed to ID 120m. for this purpose. The Mullis would be in favour of further cooperation with Britain.

(h) There had been a cease-fire in the North for several days. It had been decided that the Pish Mergah troops would in future be used as border guards.

D. F. Hawley

(D. F. Hawley)
3 February, 1970

REPUBLIC OF IRAQ

NEQ 1/2

ACCORD WITH KURDS TO BE BARED NEXT WEEK;
BEIRUT WEEKLY GIVES BACKGROUND TO TALKS

Kurds

A report was published in Baghdad Wednesday saying that a statement will be issued some time next week about the points of agreement between the Iraqi government and the ruling Arab Baath Socialist Party, on the one hand, and the leader of the Kurdish insurgents in northern Iraq, Mullah Mustafa Barzani. The report was published by BAGHDAD's ALEF BAA, which quoted a source that participated in the talks between the two sides as saying that agreement had been reached on a number of "the basic and essential points."

What gave the report even greater significance was the fact that it was reproduced by the official IRAQ NEWS AGENCY.

Meanwhile, Beirut's pro-UAR and pro-Iraq weekly AL SAYYAD yesterday confirmed the report about agreement reached between the Baathists and Barzanists, and noted that this was an outcome of negotiations and contacts that originally started last September. The weekly emphasized that settling the Kurdish problem peacefully has always been the aim of the present regime in Iraq ever since it returned to power in the country in July, 1968.

The weekly said that the present Baathist regime "is now achieving something which four previous regimes had failed to achieve." It added that the basis of the agreement which will be announced during the next week "is the June 29th, 1966, accord", which brought about a ceasefire between the central government forces and the insurgent Kurds. The 1966 accord is often identified with former Premier Dr. Abdel Rahman Al Bazzaz, who was head of government at the time the accord was concluded, but is now serving a 15-year term in prison in Baghdad.

Background. AL SAYYAD reported that the official date on which talks and meetings between Baath Party and government leaders, on one hand, and Barzanists, on the other, started was last September through the mediation of Mr. Aziz Sharif, who is now Justice Minister. Sharif was brought into the present government after the Cabinet reshuffle announced on December 31st, 1969. He was described as representative of the Iraqi Communist Party, but the latter dissociated itself from him in a statement published recently in Beirut's communist daily AL NIDA.

This was followed by a meeting between Mr. Sidam Hussein Al Takriti, Vice Chairman of the Revolution Command Council and Assistant Secretary General of the National (Iraqi) Leadership of the Baath Party, on the one hand, and Barzani representatives Saleh Youssefi and Mohsin Dezai. Meetings between representatives of the two sides continued since then, said the weekly, adding that there was even a meeting on the night of January 20th last, when the authorities announced the foiling of an anti-state attempt "concocted by reactionary elements" in collusion with the "imperialists and their agents."

Northern Tour. The weekly also recalled that during the last week of January last, Mr. Sidam Takriti, accompanied by other party and government officials, made a tour of the northern Iraqi areas where he drew out the final form of the draft agreement with the Barzanists. Some points of the agreement include: Definite recognition in the constitution of the Kurdish nationalism on equal level with Arab nationalism; decentralization of government in Kurdish areas according to the governorates law; Kurdish representation in the government by two or more Ministers; the return of employees and the military to their original posts and transforming the Kurdish armed units into border guardsmen; and reconstruction of the North.

M. Hamm 29/1

FINANCIAL TIMES

3 MAR 1970

Cutting dated

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY No. 10 3 MAR 1970
19 NEQ 1/2

20

Iraq-Kurdish settlement hindered by oil claims

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

BEIRUT, March 2.

A DISPUTE over the administrative future of the oil-rich Kirkuk district is holding up agreement between the Iraqi Government and Kurdish insurgents under Mulla Mustafa Barzani, according to informed travellers from Baghdad, who said negotiations between the two sides have covered a lot of ground and encompassed issues that bear on the structure of the entire government system in the country.

One of the leaders of the ruling Baath party declared yesterday that the Government "has brought the Kurdish question to the threshold of settlement." Speaking in an interview with Baghdad's semi-official Al Jumhuriya, Mr. Murtada Al Hadithi, a member of the 15-man revolutionary council, Iraq's highest authority at present, noted, however, in referring to the Kurdish conflict "a ten-year-old wound cannot be bandaged in one day."

He declared that Baath party congresses have endorsed the nationalist rights of the Kurdish people. He did not elaborate but he could have been referring to the party's Pan-Arab Congress which has just ended in Baghdad.

Resolutions of the Congress, in which representatives of party branches throughout the Arab world participated and which was held behind closed doors, have not been announced yet.

Travellers said Iraqi Government negotiators had told Barzani that they wanted to hold consultations inside the Baath party regarding Kurdish demands on Kirkuk because of the extreme importance of issue.

Kirkuk is Iraq's richest area in oil. The fields there, operated under concession by an international consortium, Iraq Petroleum Company, now provide Iraq's main source of national income. IPC pays the government about £150m. in royalties annually.

Forced to emigrate

According to travellers the Kurds insisted during recent negotiations that Kirkuk should be included in the Kurdish areas where the Kurds will exercise right of self-government under plans being negotiated with the government.

The Kurds reportedly maintained that Kirkuk was historically and demographically predominantly Kurdish. Government

negotiators, however, presented statistics showing that Arabs and Turcomans constituted two-thirds of the Kirkuk districts' population and the Kurds the remaining one-third. The Kurds replied that during the 10 years of Kurdish-government fighting, large numbers of Kurdish families were forced to emigrate from Kirkuk.

Before this problem came up, the Government agreed to hold general Parliamentary elections within two years. In the meantime, and as soon as agreement with the Kurds is signed, a 50-man provisional legislature to be called the "National Council" would be set up, and would be formed of 25 Baathists and 25 Kurds and representatives of Nasserites and other leftist groups in Iraq acceptable to the Baath party. The Revolutionary Council, formed entirely of Baathists, would relinquish its legislative powers to the new Council, and would remain merely as "National Security Council" to guard against what Baathists regard as plots against the present regime. It is to be noted that there has been no confirmation of this information from the Government side.

Reysa

Iraqi Kurds
Feb.

MM
3/3

Regs. Comes to

on 20/1
Roseman 20/1
J.R.D.
PUSO

please

(1/4)

Dear Sir,



Mr Mackenzie 573
Mr Egan 573
British Embassy
BAGHDAD. 21
Don ate
P.M.H.B.
5/3.

28 February, 1970.

The Kurdish Problem

(17)

When I last wrote to you on 7 February on this subject we were anticipating some announcement by the Government on progress made in the talks between the two sides. In the event no announcement was made and it was widely rumoured here that the talks had broken down.

2. Certainly the Kurdish delegation returned to the North. It is widely believed that the two major stumbling blocks proved to be the exact extent of the area in which the Kurds would exercise their limited "autonomy" - should this include Kirkuk or not, and the amount of real power in country-wide terms which the Baath would concede to them - i.e. whether they would allow them representation on the Revolutionary Command Council.

3. If these points are true, and we have no reason to doubt them then it is clear that the Kurds are holding out for a good deal more than they would ever have gained under the Bazzaz plan of 1966, had that been implemented. The difficulty we face is in judging whether these increased demands are a recent phenomenon, a tactical increase by Barzani in the light of recent events or whether they have been elements in the discussion throughout the talks and have always been likely to impede progress. Our information, such as it has been, on the talks leads us to suppose that the question of membership on the R.C.C. and the very real say that this would give the Kurds in the country's affairs has been part of their demands since the outset of the recent series of negotiations - at any rate since the December amendment to the Constitution abolished the Council of Ministers, so that the allocation to the Kurds of three or four Ministries would not give them membership of a policy making collegiate body. It has equally always seemed unlikely to us that the very "exclusive" Baath would be prepared to open the R.C.C., which is essentially a family gathering, to the Kurds. They may all along have hoped by increasing the Kurds rights in their own areas to buy off the Kurds' wish for real power at the centre. The question of Kirkuk is however seemingly a new one. Kirkuk lies only on the very edge of the territory defined in maps produced in the past by Kurds themselves as Greater Kurdistan, whose area is inflated to include parts of the Mediterranean coast near Iskenderun and the Iranian coast of the Persian Gulf to the South of Abadan.

.../4.

P. R. M. Hinchcliffe, Esq.,
Near Eastern Department,
F.C.O.

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- 2 -

4. Why the Kurds should have increased their demands at this stage is not clear. We assume that the Iranians in the aftermath of the unsuccessful coup here have redoubled their efforts to subvert Barzani and prevent an agreement which by removing this government's major problem would considerably strengthen it. But we have no evidence to show that Barzani is particularly willing to listen to the Iranians again. It seems at least possible that the introduction of Kirkuk to the discussions is the Kurdish answer to Baath intransigence over membership of the R.C.C. This would be their quid pro quo for abandoning their claim to representation. It is also conceivable that Barzani is not averse to dragging out the discussions and thus giving his partisans an opportunity to settle a few scores with the Talabanists.

5. Despite the gloomy rumours immediately after the Id (18 February) that the breakdown in the talks meant an end to hopes of a settlement the opinion is now gaining ground that contacts have been resumed. Murtadha al-Hadithi who has played an important role in the discussions on the government side has gone so far as to give an interview to al-Jumhuriyah, published on 28 February, expressing the government's continued determination to reach a settlement. He makes the claim that actions by this government have already granted the Kurds greater rights than they have ever obtained before and he renews the plea of Saddam Hussein for unity between the two nations of the Arabs and the Kurds in order to allow Iraq's economy to expand and to permit Iraq to play a greater part in the common Arab struggle against Israel and Imperialism in general. The only implied criticism in his interview is that he calls for the "creation of the right spirit among the Kurds" in order to achieve a peaceful settlement. No persons or groups are named as responsible for blocking progress in the talks.

Yours
JH
(J. H. Symons)

c.c. Chancery:

Tehran
Beirut

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February 26th, 1970

(22)

(SPECIAL REPORTS)

NEQ 1/2

Mr. Egerton

16/3

STAND ON OIL-RICH KIRKUK IS HOLDING UP
ACCORD BETWEEN KURDS AND GOVERNMENTBut Agreement Reached On Elections, LegislatureKurds,
Baath

P.O. [signature]

A dispute over the administrative future of Iraq's oil-rich Kirkuk district is holding up agreement between the Baathist regime and the Kurdish insurgent leader Mulla Mustafa Barzani, despite the fact that talks between them had covered a great deal of ground and made considerable progress, according to informed travellers from Baghdad.

Negotiators of both sides are still in touch, and have been travelling constantly back and forth between Baghdad and Barzani's headquarters in the north. According to the travellers, the Baath Party leadership was now waiting for answers of queries it had sent on the subject to the Party branches throughout the Arab world. The leadership wanted to hold such consultations on a matter which it considers as bearing directly on the future of Iraq and its status.

A final decision on this point might be taken at the forthcoming Pan-Arab congress of the Baath Party in Baghdad. Preparations for the congress, which will be attended by representatives of the branches abroad of the party which support the Baghdad-based Pan-Arab leadership of the Baath led by party founder Michel Aflak (as separate from the rival Damascus-based Baathist leadership), are now underway.

The Argument On Kirkuk. The Iraqi Baathists have already made public their reservations about the "geographical limitations" demanded by the Barzanists for the area where the Kurds are to be granted self-Government, or "autonomy" as the Kurds like to call it, within the unity of the Iraqi state. This was expressed in a long editorial earlier this month in Baghdad's AL THAWRA, which speaks for the ruling Baath Party. The paper maintained that Kurdish national rights are not established within geographical or regional limitations, but by a "democratic" system of the Government and the administration.

According to the travellers, an extensive discussion took place recently between the Government and Kurdish negotiators regarding Kirkuk. This was in connection with the area in the north where the Kurds say they form a majority and where they want to exercise self-Government. The Kurds insisted that historically demographically, the Kirkuk district has been predominantly Kurdish.

Government representatives submitted statistics showing that the Arabs and Turcomans constitute two-thirds of the population of the Kirkuk district, and the Kurds the remaining one third. Kurdish negotiators challenged the statistics, and said that in the 1963, the Baathists themselves, then in power for the first time, carried out a policy under which they forced a large number of the Kurdish families in the Kirkuk district to emigrate to other Iraqi areas. They also pointed out that the June, 1966, declaration for settlement of the Kurdish problem, and which the Baathist government endorsement when it returned to power in July, 1968, provides for return of Kurdish emigrants to the areas where they had originally lived.

Oil Rich. The Kirkuk district is the source of most of Iraq's oil wealth, which brings to the Iraqi Government about 150 million sterling pounds annually in royalties from the Iraq Petroleum Company (IPC), the internationally-owned consortium which owns the Kirkuk oil-fields.

At one of the meetings, the Government representatives said that there was no guarantee th-

Confidential

The Kurdish Problem

This is quite an interesting letter from Mr Symons.

I agree with his tentative conclusion (§4) that the Kurds have introduced Kirkuk into the discussions as a counter of some sort, probably to Baath's reluctance to give them at least token membership of the R.C.C. Kirkuk is full of Turkomans, not Kurds, and though demands for a percentage of the revenues from Kirkuk petroleum production have been a Kurdish parrot-cry for years, the idea of Kirkuk being part of a
Kurdish

Kurdish autonomous area is, in
internal Iraqi terms, an obvious
try-on. It is inconceivable that
the siege of the IPC should not
be firmly in central Iraqi hands.

Stegenton

6/3

Mr Tiff

20

6.3

Ente TEMP FILE

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British Embassy,
BAGHDAD.

(23)

(1/4) Letter to Iraq, 10.50.50



RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No. 10
12 MAR 1970

March, 1970.

NEQ 1/2

Kurdish Problem

The Canadian Ambassador accredited to Iraq but resident in Tehran has been on a short visit to Baghdad. Among the topics which he discussed with General Ammash was the Kurdish problem.

2. The General maintained (without, in our view, much plausibility) that the main purpose of his recent visit to Ankara in the context of Iraq/Iran relations was not to complain about the Iranian troop concentrations on the Iraqi border (which we know to have been a figment of Iraqi imagination) but to pass on to the Iranians through the Turks Iraqi concern at Iranian assistance to the Kurds. The plea made through the Turks according to General Ammash was that the Iranians should not endanger the possibility of a settlement between Barzani and the Iraqi government.

3. He went on to say that the talks were still going on between the two sides and that a great measure of agreement had already been reached. He told the Canadian Ambassador that the Ba'ath were not prepared for the Kurds to be represented on the Revolutionary Command Council nor were they prepared to see Kirkuk in a geographical area dominated by the Kurds. They were not proposing to split the country into two separate parts but rather to allow the Kurds a measure of autonomy in local government in their own areas. Responsibility for major aspects of policy - defence and foreign affairs would remain with the Central government. The Ba'ath were on the other hand prepared to offer the Kurds a number of ministries, to see an appropriate number of Kurds as members of a "National Council", the establishment of which Ammash claimed to be part of the Ba'ath party programme, and to meet other requirements of the Kurds.

4. If this is all the Ba'ath are prepared to give the Kurds, then it is easy to see how the talks have run into difficulty. On the other hand Ammash maintains that the talks are still going well and that a statement can be expected in the near future. We have heard this before, and again I feel we must wait and see. On the face of it Ammash would seem to be the only optimist at present in Baghdad on the ability of the government to bring off an agreement with the Kurds.

.../5.

P. R. M. Hinchcliffe, Esq.,
Near Eastern Department,
F.C.O.

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- 2 -

5. Of perhaps greater interest were Ammash's comments to the Canadian Ambassador on the implications of an agreement for Iraq's relations with the two neighbouring countries, Turkey and Iran. He maintained that any grant of complete autonomy to the Kurds would provoke an invasion of the area and an attempted take-over by either the Turks or the Iranians, concerned at the possibility of troubles in their own Kurdish regions. This was the basic reason for limiting the amount of autonomy granted to the Kurds. On the other hand if an agreement were reached the Iraqi government proposed paying the Iranians back in some of their own coin by stirring up trouble for the Iranians not only in the Kurdish areas of Iran but also in Arabistan to which "they would carry the battle". It was not clear whether Ammash had in mind practical steps or merely a further extension of the propaganda war.

6. Interestingly enough, the Italian Ambassador has told us that he called earlier this week on Saddam Hussein to put forward to the Iraqi government an Italian plan for assistance in development of the North if and when the Kurdish question was settled. This is not a new proposal but one which the Italians have had on ice since the time when Bazzaz looked likely to achieve a settlement with the Kurds. It would involve an expenditure of ID 60 million which the Iraqis would themselves provide with the Italians supplying experts of all kinds to develop the Kurdish region and raise it to the socio-economic level of the rest of Iraq. The Italian Ambassador has not revealed Saddam Hussein's reactions, but says that Saddam assured him that talks with the Kurds had not been broken off.

*Yours,
John*

(J. H. Symons)

CONFIDENTIAL

SPECIAL REPORTS, Cont'dKurds, Baath

at the Kurds would not one day decide to secede from Iraq and would try to include Kirkuk in their separatist plans. The Kurdish delegation emphasized that the Kurds do not want and will never seek secession. It was reportedly at this point that the Government representatives, led by Mr Sidam Hussein Takriti, Vice President of the Revolution Command Council, said that inter-Baath consultations were needed due to the great importance of this point.

Important Other Issues. Baathists showed extra-ordinary flexibility on other issues, which bear not only on the Kurdish question but on the future of the political and government situation in the country.

They agreed in principle, these informed travellers said, to begin steps for establishment of a democratic system in the country. They were said to have agreed to hold general elections within two years. In the meantime, and as soon as the agreement with the Kurds is reached, a provisional "National Council" to exercise legislative powers until elections are held for a permanent parliament, will be appointed.

The National Council will have 50 members --25 Baathists, and 25 from among the Kurds, and other political groups such as the Nasserites, Communists and other leftists acceptable to the Baath. A new Government with real executive powers will also be formed.

The status of the Revolution Command Council was discussed in detail, the travellers added. The Baathists refused to dissolve the Council, formed of 15 members, namely, all the 11 members of the National (Iraqi) Command of the Baath Party, one from the Pan-Arab Command, and the country's top 3 army officers: Defense Minister and Deputy Commander in Chief Lt-General Hardan Abdel Ghaffar Takriti; Lt-General Hammad Chehab; the Chief of Staff; and Lt-General Saadoun Ghaidan, the Commander of the Baghdad Garrison.

It was finally agreed that the RCC will be retained with its present members and without any additions but only as an "Internal Security Council" to guard against what the Baath Party regards as possible attempts or conspiracies aimed to overthrow the regime. It will, however, stop being the chief executive body, and will relinquish its present legislative powers to the 50-man National Council.

An Impasse. But negotiations between the Kurds and the Government appear to be in an impasse over disagreement over the Kirkuk district, which is vital. If the Government concedes to the Kurdish demands it would be giving in to the argument which the Kurds have been constantly making: that the Iraqi oil wealth really belongs to the Kurds. If it does not concede, the Kurdish problem may blow up again.

The travellers, however, emphasized that both sides are interested in agreement, and that some kind of compromise could be reached. The Baathists have kept an "open mind" regarding the Kurdish request, and have in fact been considering it, which meant that they have not rejected it outright.

The Kurds, on the other hand, to show good faith, have discontinued all attacks on the Government from their "RADIO KURDISTAN", based in the northern areas. The Radio has limited its broadcasts to giving names of Kurds who have joined the Barzani ranks after deserting the ranks of his Kurdish rival, Jalal Talabani.

Once agreement is reached, travellers say, the Radio will be discontinued altogether, and the Barzanists would be allowed to re-publish their Baghdad Arabic daily, AL TAAKHI.

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1247 :KURDS:

BAGHDAD: MARCH 11, REUTER — FIGHTING BETWEEN THE TOUGH
MOUNTAIN RACE OF KURDS — STRUGGLING TO ACHIEVE NATIONHOOD FOR
10 YEARS — AND IRAQI GOVERNMENT TROOPS FINALLY ENDED HERE TODAY,
THE OFFICIAL IRAQI NEWS AGENCY ANNOUNCED.
MORE PMS/DJS.

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1319 : KURDS 3 BAGHDAD:

HIS ANNOUNCEMENT PROMISED PEACE BETWEEN THE BAGHDAD GOVERNMENT AND THE ALMOST LEGENDARY REBEL KURDISH LEADER, 69-YEAR-OLD MULLA MUSTAFA BARZANI, WHO FIRST TOOK UP ARMS IN 1931 TO WIN INTERNAL AUTONOMY FOR THE KURDS.

MORE THAN ONE MILLION OF THEM LIVE IN IRAQ.

THERE ARE ABOUT FIVE MILLION OTHER KURDS -- RACIALLY AND LINGUISTICALLY DIFFERENT FROM THE ARABS -- LIVING IN NEIGHBOURING SYRIA, TURKEY, IRAN AND THE SOVIET UNION.

MOUNTAINOUS NORTHERN IRAQ HAS BEEN THE SCENE OF FREQUENT BATTLES BETWEEN THE IRAQI ARMY AND FOLLOWERS OF THE MULLA SINCE 1961, AFTER GENERAL ABED KERIM KASSEN HAD INVITED HIM HOME FROM 12 YEARS SELF-IMPOSED EXILE IN THE SOVIET UNION.

MORE PMS:GR

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1334 * KURDS 4 BAGHDAD:

MR. TAKRITI SAID THAT THE SETTLEMENT WAS MADE POSSIBLE THROUGH "THE EFFORTS OF SINCERE PROGRESSIVE ELEMENTS IN THIS COUNTRY AND THROUGH THE EFFORTS OF THE ARAB BAATH SOCIALIST PARTY AND THE KURDISTAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY ON THE OTHER SIDE."

HE DESCRIBED THE SETTLEMENT OF THE KURDISH PROBLEM AS AN ACHIEVEMENT "EQUAL IN HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE TO THE JULY REVOLUTION IN THAT IT PLACED THE IRAQI PEOPLE ON THE ROAD OF A NEW FUTURE."

MR. TAKRITI, WHO MADE SEVERAL VISITS TO KURDISH AREAS IN THE NORTH EARLIER THIS WEEK, MADE HIS STATEMENT AFTER RETURNING FROM HIS LATEST VISIT THERE AT MIDDAY TODAY.

BAGHDAD RADIO ANNOUNCED IN ITS NEWS BULLETIN THIS AFTERNOON THAT AN IMPORTANT STATEMENT WOULD BE ISSUED BY THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMAND COUNCIL AT 2000 HOURS LOCAL TODAY (1700 GMT).

THERE WAS NO INDICATION IN MR. TAKRITI'S STATEMENT AS TO THE TERMS OF THE SETTLEMENT. THERE HAVE BEEN REPORTS, HOWEVER, THAT THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT WAS READY TO GRANT SOME MEASURE OF HOME RULE TO THE KURDS.

NEGOTIATIONS ON HOME RULE HAVE BEEN REPORTED TO BE IN PROGRESS SINCE LAST DECEMBER.

REUTER NJH/NW

A. THE ARAB WORLD AND ISRAEL No. 10**Settlement of the Kurdish Issue in Iraq****(a) Iraqi News Agency in Arabic 10.59-11.45 GMT 11.3.70****Text of reports:**

10.59 GMT The 10-year fighting between Kurds in Northern Iraq and the Army finally ended today.

11.10 GMT Saddam Husayn, Deputy Chairman of the Revolution Command Council and Deputy Secretary of the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party Regional Command, told INA that genuine fraternity between Kurds and Arabs had been restored today and that all issues related to Northern Iraq had been solved. Husayn said the solution was not a temporary truce, as in the past, but rather a comprehensive fundamental, political and constitutional solution guaranteeing Arab-Kurdish fraternity forever. He added that the solution had been reached through the efforts of all progressives and people of goodwill in the country and through the efforts of the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party and the Kurdistan Democratic Party. He expressed the hope that this would be the end of abnormal relations between the Arabs and Kurds.

11.45 GMT Husayn described the solution of the Kurdish issue as an achievement equivalent to the July revolution in its historic implications and said the solution had placed the Iraqi people on the road of new relations and a new future. Saddam Husayn paid several visits this week to the Northern area and made these statements at noon today after his return to Baghdad. The Iraqi Government will issue an official statement this evening on the issue.

(b) "Voice of Iraqi Kurdistan" in Arabic 15.30 GMT 11.3.70**Text of broadcast:**

Telegram from the Executive Office of the Kurdish Democratic Party; the Executive Office of the Revolution Command Council; the First, Second, Third and Fourth Branches of the Kurdish Democratic Party; the commands of the Kurdish Revolutionary Army and the various bases:

Agreement was reached yesterday evening [word indistinct] with the Government delegation. It is possible that a statement will be broadcast from Baghdad this evening. We left for Baghdad this morning with the Government delegation on this happy and historic occasion. Request that support telegrams are sent to the President of the Republic and the Revolution Command Council. The telegrams should [words indistinct]. Circulate this to all local committees and to the public.

[Note: In a poorly received broadcast in Arabic at 17.34 GMT the "Voice of Iraqi Kurdistan" instructed all men of the Kurdish Revolutionary Army and all branches of the Kurdish Democratic Party that Army members must keep off public highways, return to their bases and not to molest citizens, on pain of immediate arrest.]

(c) Baghdad home service in Arabic 17.30-21.50 GMT 11.3.70

17.30 GMT: Text of Revolution Command Council statement read by President Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr (broadcast live):

In the name of God the Merciful and the Compassionate: Honourable and courageous people of Iraq, may God's peace and blessings be upon you.

The primary justification for the 17th July revolution is that it has come to express the wrath of the entire Arab masses over the causes of the June defeat and those responsible. It has also come to express the unanimity of Iraqi public opinion to denounce the former autocratic and reactionary regime for playing a defeatist role in this national tragedy. It was completely isolated from the people and utterly unable to solve the national problems which eroded the national entity. The solution of these problems was an essential and inevitable prelude to every genuine effort to mobilise all the Iraqi human and material resources and place them in their natural place - primarily on the front lines of the battle of destiny of the Arab nation.

It is for this reason that the revolution has, from the beginning, paid attention to the establishment of the national unity of the Iraqi people without any discrimination between race, language, or religion. This is why it tried to (?secure) all the necessary political, social and economic conditions required by this unity, so that Iraq could direct all its resources to the national battle of destiny. In the opinion of the revolution this battle represents on the one hand the climax of the bitter historical conflict between imperialism, Zionism and their evil ambitions in the Arab homeland and on the other the interests, liberation and development of the Arab nation and its struggle for the achievement of its humanitarian progressive aims.

Despite the enormous and intricate problems which this left behind and which the revolution has confronted, the revolution determinedly and firmly continued its march to liberate Iraq from the vestiges of imperialism, agents and social and political tyranny. It continued to work for the necessary conditions for building a new Iraq, in which actual equality in rights, duties and opportunities among the citizens would be seriously achieved and in which horizons would be opened for all the masses by a national and genuine commitment to the unity of the homeland and its people and its great basic political aims, national unity, freedom and socialism.

The solution of the Kurdish problem in Iraq has been one of the first national problems faced by the revolution. The inability of the former regimes to understand this problem - or rather their lack of a real desire to tackle it and work out proper solutions to it and the accompanying exploitation by imperialism, collaborators and agents - have led to further complications of the issue until it became an almost impossible problem, particularly since violence took the place of democratic, fraternal and objective discussion. This discussion is necessitated by the nature of the national problem and because the legitimate and just rights of a part of the Iraqi people is involved.

From the very beginning, the revolution has been working to remedy this national problem with a spirit of responsibility and the utmost adherence to revolutionary democratic principles.

The revolution, which derives its theories from the principles of the Ba'th Party, believes that national rights are essentially democratic rights. These include the revival of a cultural heritage, language and tradition, and the exercise of free will. The consolidation of these rights within the various nationalities, particularly within the boundaries of one homeland, demand that means are devised to organise relations between these nationalities in such a way as to help the development of all of them. All projects and designs which seek to weaken the ties between these nationalities and to sow seeds of discord will not serve their common interests. The organisation and buttressing of national and humanitarian ties between them to serve progress will lead to national unity in an atmosphere of national fraternity and peace.

Inspired by these principles, the Seventh National Congress of the Ba'th Party, which met towards the end of 1968, defined the Party's ideological struggle attitude on this national problem and laid down the way of solving it. Resolutions to this effect were issued at the conclusion of that Congress. These stated:

enabling the Kurdish masses to exercise their legitimate rights ~~and actually take part~~ in the serious efforts to develop the homeland and to struggle for its great national aims.

NEQ 1/2

For all this, the Revolution Command Council has decided the following:

(1) Kurdish shall be an official language alongside Arabic in the areas where Kurds constitute the majority of the population. Kurdish shall be the language for teaching in these areas. Arabic shall be taught in all schools which use Kurdish as a teaching medium while Kurdish shall be taught as a second language in all other schools throughout Iraq in accordance with the limits prescribed by law.

(2) The participation of our Kurdish brothers in the Government without discrimination between Kurds and non-Kurds in appointments to public posts, including important and key posts in the State such as Cabinet ministries, Army commands, and other such posts, had been and still is one of the important points which the Revolution Government aims to achieve. While approving of this principle, the Revolution Government reiterates the need for work to apply it in just proportion, taking into consideration qualifications, population proportion and the deprivations which our Kurdish brothers have suffered in the past.

(3) In view of the backwardness which afflicted the Kurds in the past, both culturally and educationally, a plan shall be drawn up to redress this backwardness by means of the following:

(a) The speeding up of the implementation of the Revolution Command Council's resolutions concerning the linguistic and cultural rights of the Kurdish people, and the control of the preparation and direction of the programmes relevant to Kurdish national affairs on radio and television at the General Directorate for the Kurdish Information and Culture.

(b) The return of school students forced to abandon their studies because of the violence in the area, irrespective of their actions, or finding suitable solutions to their problem.

(c) Increasing the number of schools in the Kurdish area, raising the Kurds standard of education, and accepting Kurdish students in the universities and military academies and granting them scholarships in just proportion.

(4) Officials in the administrative units inhabited by a Kurdish majority shall be Kurds, or Kurdish-speaking persons should the required number of Kurdish officials already exist. Key officials - such as governors, district officers, police chiefs, and public security chiefs - shall be appointed and immediately begin developing the State machinery in the area after consultation with the Supreme Committee entrusted with the implementation of this statement, to ensure this implementation and to buttress national unity and stability in the area.

(5) The Government accepts the Kurdish people's right to establish student, youth, women's and teachers' organisations of their own. These organisations shall become members of similar national Iraqi organisations.

(6) (a) The operation of paragraphs one and two of Revolution Command Council Resolution No. 59 of 5th August 1968 shall be extended until the date of issue of this statement, and shall be made to cover all those accused of committing acts of violence in the Kurdish area.

(b) Workers, officials and employees, both civilian and military, shall be reinstated in the service, without taking into consideration questions of establishment. The civilians shall be employed in the Kurdish area in accordance with the needs of that area.

(7) (a) A body of specialists shall be formed to raise the standard of the Kurdish area in all fields in the shortest possible time and to compensate it for the losses it suffered in recent years, and to allocate a sufficient budget for achieving this. The body shall be attached to the Northern Affairs Ministry.

(b) An economic plan shall be drawn up to ensure the development and equality of all parts of Iraq after taking into consideration the conditions of backwardness in the Kurdish area.

(c) Pensions shall be allocated for the families of those martyrs who fell during the regrettable fighting, be they members of the Kurdish armed movement or others. Pensions shall also be granted to those who have been disabled or disfigured because of the conditions in the North in accordance with special legislation based on the laws in force.

(d) Immediate action will be taken to provide relief to the victims and the needy in housing and other projects, ensuring work for the unemployed, and providing suitable assistance in cash and in kind and reasonable compensation to the victims who need assistance. This will be done through the Supreme Committee. Persons affected by the previous paragraphs are exempted from this.

(8) People of Arab and Kurdish villages shall be returned to their former places of residence. If the areas cannot be used as residential areas and are requisitioned by the Government for the public interest and in accordance with law, the people will be resettled in neighbouring areas and shall be compensated for resulting damages.

(9) There will be immediate action to apply agrarian reform in the Kurdish area and to adjust it in such a way as to liquidate feudalistic relations. All peasants shall obtain suitable plots of land and shall be exempt from arrears in agricultural tax which have accumulated during the years of regrettable fighting.

(10) It was agreed to amend the provisional Constitution as follows:

(a) The Iraqi people consist of two main nationalities, the Arabs and Kurdish nationalities. The Constitution will acknowledge Kurdish national rights and the rights of all minorities within the Iraqi unity.

(b) The following paragraph will be added to Article Four of the Constitution: The Kurdish language will be an official language in addition to the Arabic language in the Kurdish area.

(c) The above shall be stated in the permanent Constitution.

(11) The radio station and the heavy weapons will be returned to the Government. This will be connected with implementation of the final stages of the agreement.

(12) One of the Vice-Presidents of the Republic will be a Kurd.

(13) The Governorates Law will be amended in harmony with the contents of this statement.

(14) After this statement is broadcast, the necessary measures will be taken by consultation with the Supreme Supervisory Committee to unify the provinces and the administrative units with majority Kurdish populations in accordance with an official census to be carried out. The State will strive to develop this administrative unit and deepen and expand the Kurdish people's exercise of their rights in this unit to ensure that they enjoy self-government. Until this administrative unit is achieved, Kurdish national affairs will be co-ordinated in periodic meetings between the Supreme Committee and the Northern Region Governorate. Since self-government will take place within the framework of the Iraqi Republic, the exploitation of the natural resources in this Region will of course be within the jurisdictions of the powers of this Republic.

(15) The Kurdish people will take part in the legislative authority in accordance with the proportion of the Kurdish population.

Kurdish citizens: These gains which the revolution has achieved are only the first step towards achieving all your national objectives in this homeland and the unity of its great people. History will record that you never had a more faithful brother and ally like the Arab people.

Masses of our great people: Your determination for national unity will triumph. All attempts to weaken your solidarity in struggle will be wrecked on the rock of your awareness of your historical responsibilities. Your struggling multitudes are today shaking off the dust of the plots of your enemies and those who covet you. These multitudes are marching along as one bloc full of strength. Awareness and the will to work and struggle for the triumph of the great Arab cause - Palestine - and the achievement of your sublime objectives of unity, freedom and socialism.

Masses of our struggling Arab nation: Thus a chapter in the history of this struggling country ends. A new bright chapter is opened with the hand of the revolution and the hands of the free fighters who have restored love, peace and fraternity between two nationalities of this land which has a long history of common struggle. Today, tomorrow and forever, these nationalities will have the honour of reviving their common struggle to crush the enemies of the two nationalities, the enemies of the peoples, and the whole of humanity, namely, imperialism, Zionism and backwardness.

They will also have the honour of jointly contributing to the human struggle for liberation, progress and the entrenchment of civilisation on the foundations of right, equality, and justice among all peoples. Let us march in the direction of the common struggle, common aspirations and common national and humanitarian victories. Peace be with you.

On this great and pleasant occasion, all government departments will be closed until Saturday.

18.25 GMT: Text of telegram from Mulla Mustafa Barzani, leader of the Kurdish movement and of the Kurdish Democratic Party, to President Bakr and the Revolution Command Council, read by Dr. Mahmud Uthman, member of the Kurdish Democratic Party Political Bureau and head of the Kurdish delegation:

I congratulate you, ourselves and the Iraqi people from the bottom of my heart on behalf of myself, the Kurdish Democratic Party, and the masses of our Kurdish people on the occasion of your historic declaration which we had the honour to help in drafting and which has achieved a democratic peaceful solution to the Kurdish question and acknowledges the just national rights of the masses of our people including autonomy.

I (?commend) the efforts of the sincere people in this country who have worked steadily with determination and dedication to bring about his solution.

On our part, we had always left the door open for a peaceful settlement, but the weakness of the former regimes, their detachment from the hopes and aspirations of the people and their failure to understand the Kurdish question made them incapable of finding a suitable solution to this problem which is linked with the life of all the Iraqi masses.

On the basis of this fixed policy, our Kurdish Democratic Party and all our brothers responded to the important and positive initiative of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party the moment it began to take the effective positive steps towards a peaceful democratic solution to this problem, which had seemed insoluble.

The issue of the declaration at this stage is of special importance and will strengthen the solidarity between the Arab and Kurdish nationalities, strengthen their historical fraternity, strengthen national unity and frustrate imperialism and reaction and their agents and the plots against our homeland and people.

On this historic occasion, I wish to stress the Kurdish people's support for the just struggle of the Arab nation against its enemies, especially since this fraternal nation is passing through a critical and decisive stage which calls for the mobilisation of all the resources and potentials for its hard struggle for its legitimate aims.

While declaring, on our behalf, the Kurdish Democratic Party, and all the Kurdish people, our support for the declaration, we also declare that we are fully committed to work with the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party and the national authority in implementing the letter and spirit of the declaration to ensure a durable peace and preserve the interests and rights of the Iraqi people - Arabs, Kurds, Turkmen and other minorities.

It is our duty to do our best to overcome the bitter past and remedy its consequences with a spirit of fraternity, honesty, trust and love. I call on the good and patriotic forces and all the sincere people of Iraq to co-operate and to embrace and to work jointly with the revolution Government and with us for the good, the progress and the prosperity of Iraq.

In conclusion, I pray that Almighty God grant us all success in serving this beloved homeland and in strengthening the unity of its soil and people. Long may the banner of fraternity, friendship and peace wave over our country!

19.00 GMT: (i) Text of telegram from Air Marshal Hardan Abd al-Ghaffar at-Tikriti, Defence Minister and Deputy C-in-C, to President Bakr, the Revolution Command Council and the Ba'th Party's National and Regional Commands:

Your officers and men and commanders of the valiant Army extend their warmest congratulations and support to you over the blessed step taken to solve the national Kurdish problem in a peaceful and democratic way. This solution will be a source of pride for posterity. History will record chapters of illumination for our Party and revolution. This solution has achieved the building of national unity which has been and still is one of the aims of the blessed 17th July revolution led by our Ba'th Party. This revolution has expressed the aspirations of the Iraqi people. This revolution has enabled our great people and valiant Army to mobilise all their resources for fighting imperialism and Zionism and to achieve the Arab nation's aspirations for unity, freedom and socialism.

19.00 GMT: (ii) Excerpt from commentary:

... The bringing of peace to Northern Iraq and the democratic and peaceful solution of the Kurdish problem will surely help establish a socialist State in Iraq. This State will be able fully to contribute to the struggle against backwardness and world imperialism.

On the national field, this solution constitutes a strong blow to Zionism and sure support for the Palestine resistance movement and the Arab armies steadfastness on the front line with Zionism.

Now that the Iraqi Army can devote itself to the battle of destiny, victory for the Arab masses will be certain and quick. The Arab nation will now have not only the resources of the Arabs of Iraq but also those of the Kurdish masses who must play their role in the battle for Palestine.

21.50 GMT: Text of telegram from the Iraqi Communist Party to President Bakr:

In the name of the Iraqi Communist Party's Central Committee and all Iraqi communists, I have the pleasure to extend to you our warmest and sincere fraternal congratulations on the important statement in which you and Mustafa Barzani, leader of the Kurdish Democratic Party, announced to the Iraqi people and the world that the Kurds will enjoy their national rights and autonomous rule within the framework of the Iraqi Republic.

The Iraqi Communist Party, which has been exerting efforts throughout the years for a peaceful and democratic solution to the Kurdish problem, will spare no efforts or resources in ensuring the implementation of this historic agreement in letter and spirit and in co-operating with the Ba'th Party, the Kurdish Democratic Party and all the national and progressive forces.

Besides being a big revolutionary step, this agreement constitutes a pillar of the unified national front of the progressive parties and forces for the decisive victory over imperialism, feudalism and reaction. It will help establish a progressive and prosperous Iraq and allow it to dedicate all resources to the just battle of the Arab nation against imperialism and Zionism.

Signed: First Secretary Aziz Muhammad, for the Iraqi Communist Party's Central Committee, Baghdad, 11th March 1970.

Broadcasts on Israeli-Arab Affairs

Suez Canal firing 11th March An Israeli sergeant was killed and five other Israeli soldiers were wounded in exchanges of fire about noon on 11th March in the southern sector of the Suez Canal. (Israel in Hebrew 18.00 GMT 11.3.70)

Grenades in Gaza Three grenades were thrown "last night" at an Israeli bus travelling to Gaza. No one was injured and only slight damage was caused. The incident occurred about a mile north of Khan Yunis (Israel in English 05.00 GMT 11.3.70). Two grenades were thrown at a group of workers in Dayr al-Balah at about 06.00 on 11th March. Many of the workers were wounded, some seriously (Israel in Hebrew 06.00 GMT 11.3.70). Two civilians were wounded north of the Khan Yunis road junction in the Gaza Strip at about 16.00 when a grenade was thrown at an Israeli vehicle in which they were travelling. A local resident who was seen running away was shot and killed when he ignored calls to halt. Curfew was imposed on the area and searches are being conducted (Israel in Hebrew 17.00 GMT 11.3.70)

Return to Lebanon of Ayta Ash-Sha'b residents (Text) This afternoon Israel returned to Lebanon two men who had been taken from the village of Ayta ash-Sha'b during an Israeli Defence Forces action. They were suspected of being saboteurs but were released after interrogation. (Israel in Hebrew 16.00 GMT 11.3.70)

Nablus sentence on municipality secretary On 10th March the Nablus military court sentenced the municipality secretary to two and a half years in Jail and a £1,500 fine. He was found guilty of possessing a document testifying to his affiliation to an illegal organisation. The court also released three high school pupils charged with membership of an illegal organisation and undergoing military training. (Israel in English 05.00 GMT 11.3.70)

Closure of Jericho road The Jericho-Tayibah road in Ramallah subdistrict will be closed for vehicles as from the morning of 12th March until further notice. The ban applies to the stretch from the eighth kilometre on the Jericho side to the third kilometre on the Tayibah side. (Israel in Arabic 11.00 GMT 11.3.70)

Sa'iqah operations On 10th March the Sa'iqah Ali Husayn Sulayman Group took up position in the Golan Heights. A machine-gun position was destroyed and its personnel killed. (Damascus in Arabic 12.15 GMT 11.3.70)

PLF operations On 26th February Popular Liberation Forces destroyed a half-track and a Power Wagon and inflicted casualties near Qatatiwah in the Gaza Strip. On 7th March a Power Wagon was destroyed and casualties were inflicted near Dayr al-Balah. On 6th March snipers killed two soldiers near Dayr al-Aqra. A vehicle was destroyed and casualties were inflicted near Kefar Ruppin. ("Voice of Palestine" in Arabic 17.30 GMT 11.3.70)

Asifah operations On 10th March Asifah forces blew up a minefield near Junaydiyah. On 11th March a camp was destroyed in Ruwaysah al-Hamra, Golan Heights. On 9th March casualties were inflicted on a patrol south of Junaydiyah. On 10th March casualties were inflicted near Karkar. On 11th March casualties were inflicted on a patrol near Beit Yosef. ("Voice of Palestine" in Arabic 17.30 GMT 11.3.70)

Asifah-PLF joint operation On 10th March an Asifah-PLF joint force damaged an Egged bus and inflicted casualties north of Khan Yunis. ("Voice of Palestine" in Arabic 17.30 GMT 11.3.70)

"Voice of Fatah" programmes 11.3.70 The Voice of Fatah programme in Arabic on 11th March (18.30 GMT) attacked US imperialism, criticised Israeli activity in Gaza, warned about imperialist plots, and acclaimed the activities of fighters in the Gaza Strip. The programme in Hebrew (19.20 GMT) said that Jews throughout the world had condemned Zionism and the Palestinians were determined to fight for their rights.

Arab Radio Comment 11.3.70

IRAQ 19.00 GMT: Settlement of the Kurdish issue (see above).

LEBANON 18.00 GMT: Israeli aggression.

LIBYA 13.00 GMT: Industrial progress free from imperialist exploitation.

MOROCCO 13.00 GMT: Political situation in Europe. 20.30 GMT: Rhodesia issue.

SYRIA 12.15 GMT (repeated 19.15 GMT): Israeli plans to move Arabs from Gaza to West Bank.

TUNISIA 12.00 GMT: Significance of the National Federation of Peasants.

UAR 12.30 GMT: Abd al-Fattah Hilal on the Arab struggle against Zionism and imperialism. 18.30 GMT ("We and the World"): (i) Exposure of Zionism; (ii) US postponement of decision to provide Israel with Phantom aircraft.

"Voice of the Arabs" (Cairo) 11.30 GMT: Abd al-Fattah al-Adawi on the Israeli plan to move Arabs from Gaza to West Bank. 14.15 GMT ("Palestine Service"): Adil al-Qadi on the Israeli plan to move Arabs from Gaza to West Bank. 15.15 GMT ("People in Sinai"): Israeli plan to set up settlements in Sinai. 16.20 GMT ("Conversation with a Listener"): Arab determination to liberate occupied territory. 17.00 GMT ("Arabian Peninsula"): Sayid Uways on US aid to Israel. 18.00 GMT: Muhammad Uruq on the danger of the present situation in the Middle East.

"Maghrib Service" (Cairo) 21.30 GMT: Israeli plan to move Arabs from Gaza to West Bank.

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1256 : KURDS 2 BAGHDAD:

MR SADDAM HUSSEIN AL-TAKRITI, DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE IRAQ'S RULING REVOLUTIONARY COMMAND COUNCIL, WAS QUOTED BY THE AGENCY AS SAYING: "THE REAL BROTHERHOOD BETWEEN THE KURDISH AND ARAB NATIONALITIES IS BACK IN EXISTENCE TODAY AFTER THE SETTLEMENT OF ALL OUTSTANDING ISSUES IN NORTHERN IRAQ...."

MR TAKRITI, WHO IS ALSO DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE REGIONAL (IRAQI) LEADERSHIP OF THE RULING ARAB BAATH (SOCIALIST) PARTY, SAID THE SOLUTION WHICH HAD BEEN REACHED WAS NOT A TEMPORARY TRUCE, AS IN THE PAST, BUT A COMPLETE, SUBSTANTIAL, POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL SOLUTION ENSURING BROTHERHOOD FOR ALL TIMES BETWEEN ARABS AND KURDS."

MORE PMS:GR

War with Kurds ends in Iraq

By NICHOLAS HERBERT

Peace was reported yesterday to have broken out in the long battle between the Iraq Government and the Kurdish rebels in the north who have been struggling for autonomy for more than a decade. The Iraq news agency said that all fighting had stopped.

Saddam Husain al-Takriti, the Deputy Chairman of the ruling Revolutionary Command Council in Baghdad, was quoted as saying that the settlement was not a temporary truce as in the past, but "a complete, substantial, political and constitutional solution ensuring brotherhood for all time between Arabs and Kurds".

President Ahmed Hassan Al-bakr said in a broadcast on Baghdad radio last night that part of the agreement called for amendments to the Iraq constitution to create two nationalities.

He said the two nationalities would be designated Arab and Kurdish. The state would have a Kurdish vice-president, a new post, and Kurdish would be the official language with Arabic in those areas where Kurds are in the majority.

Given a certain tendency to hyperbole in the Baathist temperament and considering the past history of the Kurdish dispute, the announcement will be received with caution.

Yet encouraging noises had

been coming from Baghdad for several months and some kind of rapprochement was obviously being attempted with Mullah Mustapha Barzani, aged 69, the Kurdish nationalist leader.

Another member of Iraq's ruling council, perhaps more realistic than his colleague, was quoted recently as saying that a 10-year-old wound cannot be bandaged in one day.

Since 1958, when the monarchy was overthrown and fighting with the Kurds became perennial, there have been numerous truces and settlements which have all foundered.

The most notable was concluded on June 29, 1966 by Dr. Abdul Rahman al Bazzaz, the then Prime Minister, who is now in a Baghdad prison.

His 12-point peace agreement provided for a good deal of autonomy for the Kurds, the use of Kurdish in schools, Kurdish representation in the National Assembly under a permanent constitution, a general amnesty and resettlement of those displaced by the fighting.

With Dr. Bazzaz's fall hopes that this agreement could be implemented faded fast and for most of last year Mr. Barzani's supporters were complaining bitterly of Iraq atrocities in what they said was fierce fighting.

More recently, however, the Baghdad Government was reported to have given up its alliance with Jalal Talabani, a

collaborationist Kurd, in an effort to placate Barzani.

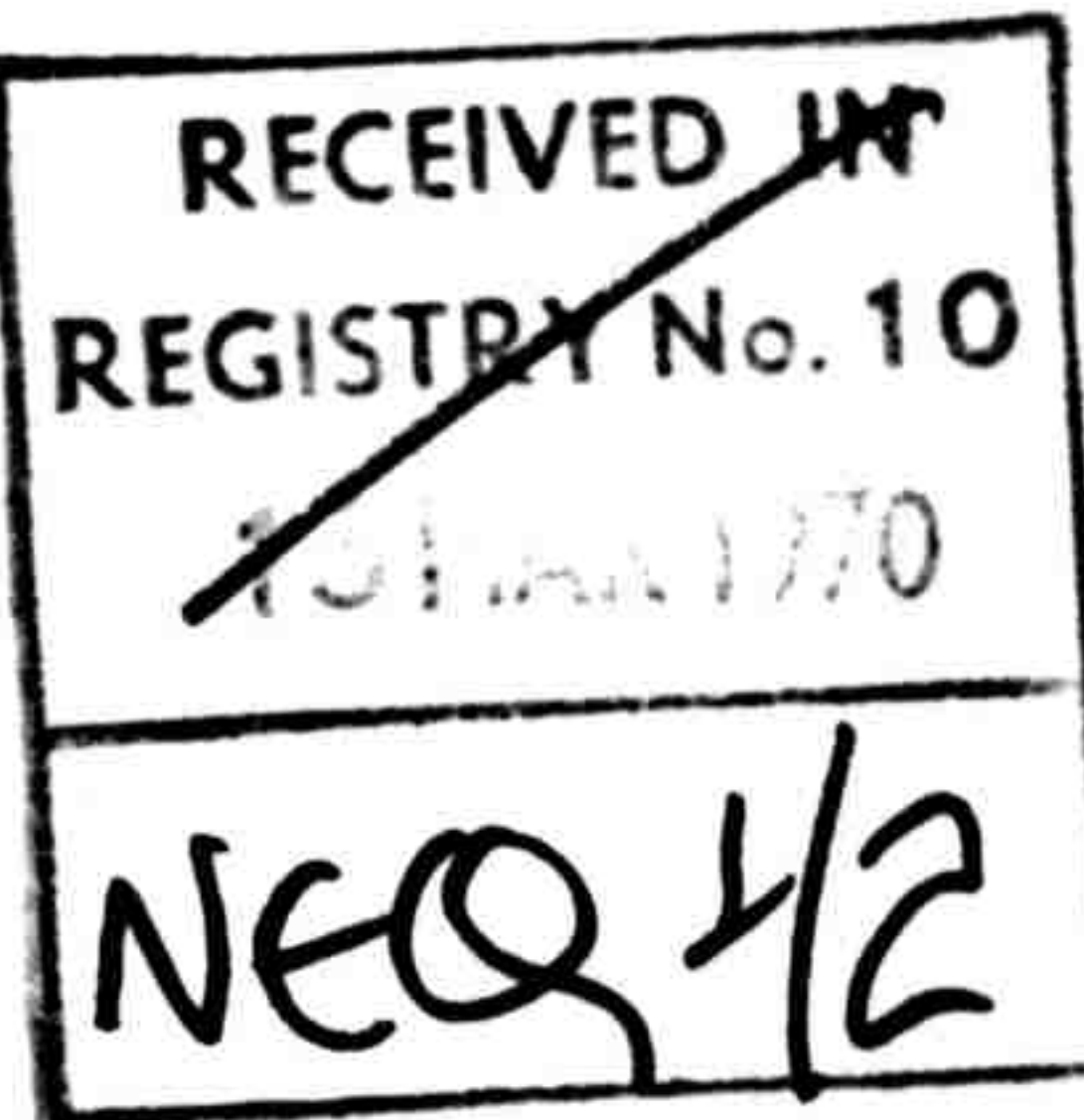
In February, the Baathist newspaper Al Thawra invited the Kurdish leadership to purge itself of secessionists, imperialist agents and feudalists. It also suggested that the Government's main objection was to demands for a specific geographic zone in which Kurds would be autonomous.

What was needed was to create in a democratic atmosphere a constitutional and administrative situation in which the Kurds could exercise their rights all over Iraq not just in the north, the newspaper added.

This may give a clue as to what has been done, although still later it was reported that the administrative future of Kirkuk, an oil producing area, was in dispute and was preventing agreement.

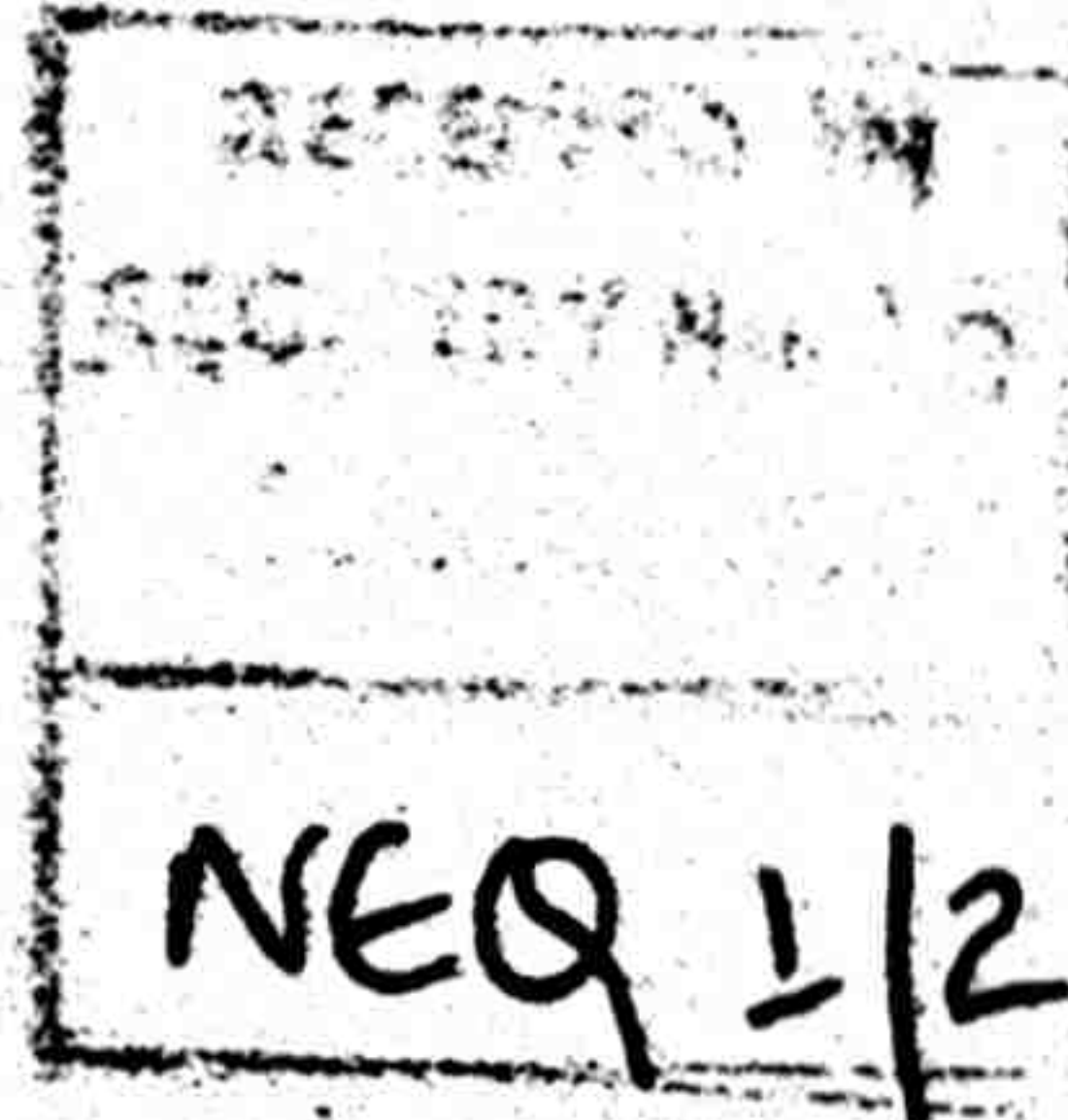
Iraq has every reason to want peace with the Kurds at present. Apart from the demands of the Arab-Israel situation, which has taken Iraq forces into Jordan and brought militant Palestinian guerrillas to Iraq, there is the simmering dispute with Iran over the Shatt-al-Arab at the head of the Gulf.

Nor has the regime's internal position shown any more stability than usual. No wonder that Mr. Takriti said settlement of the Kurdish problem was an achievement equal in historical importance to the July Revolution, which overthrew the monarchy.



Reg DA
AM
12/7

(7)

Mr. Arthur

c.c. Mr. Graham
Mr. Miers
Mr. Baker
Mr. Hayman o/r
Mr. Tripp
Mr. Hinchcliffe
Mr. Holding

Reported Agreement between the Iraq Government
and the Kurds

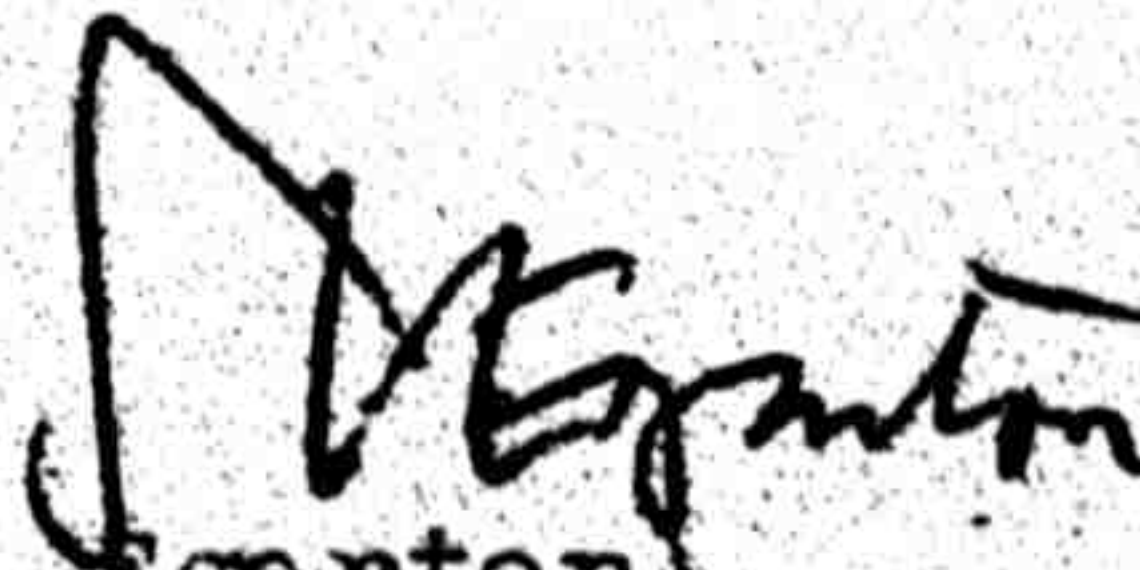
We have now heard from [redacted] that the Shah is worried by the news of the agreement, which was reported extensively in the press this morning, and which seems fairly firm.

2. Barzani has sent the Shah a message saying that he was offered a great deal of money to sign. Barzani added that the agreement granted every important Kurdish demand, except for three: the Kurds would have no flag, no representative on the Revolutionary Command Council, and no share of the oil revenues.

3. The Shah told [redacted] that the main reason for his concern over the news was that Iraqi hands would be free to make trouble both for the Kuwaiti regime and in the Gulf generally.

4. We have telegraphed to Baghdad for their urgent assessment of the new situation, and should have the Embassy's report early tomorrow. The above is by way of an interim report.

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THE ORIGINAL HAS BEEN RETAINED
IN THE DEPARTMENT UNDER SECTION
3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT 1958


(S. L. Egerton)
Near Eastern Department
12 March, 1970


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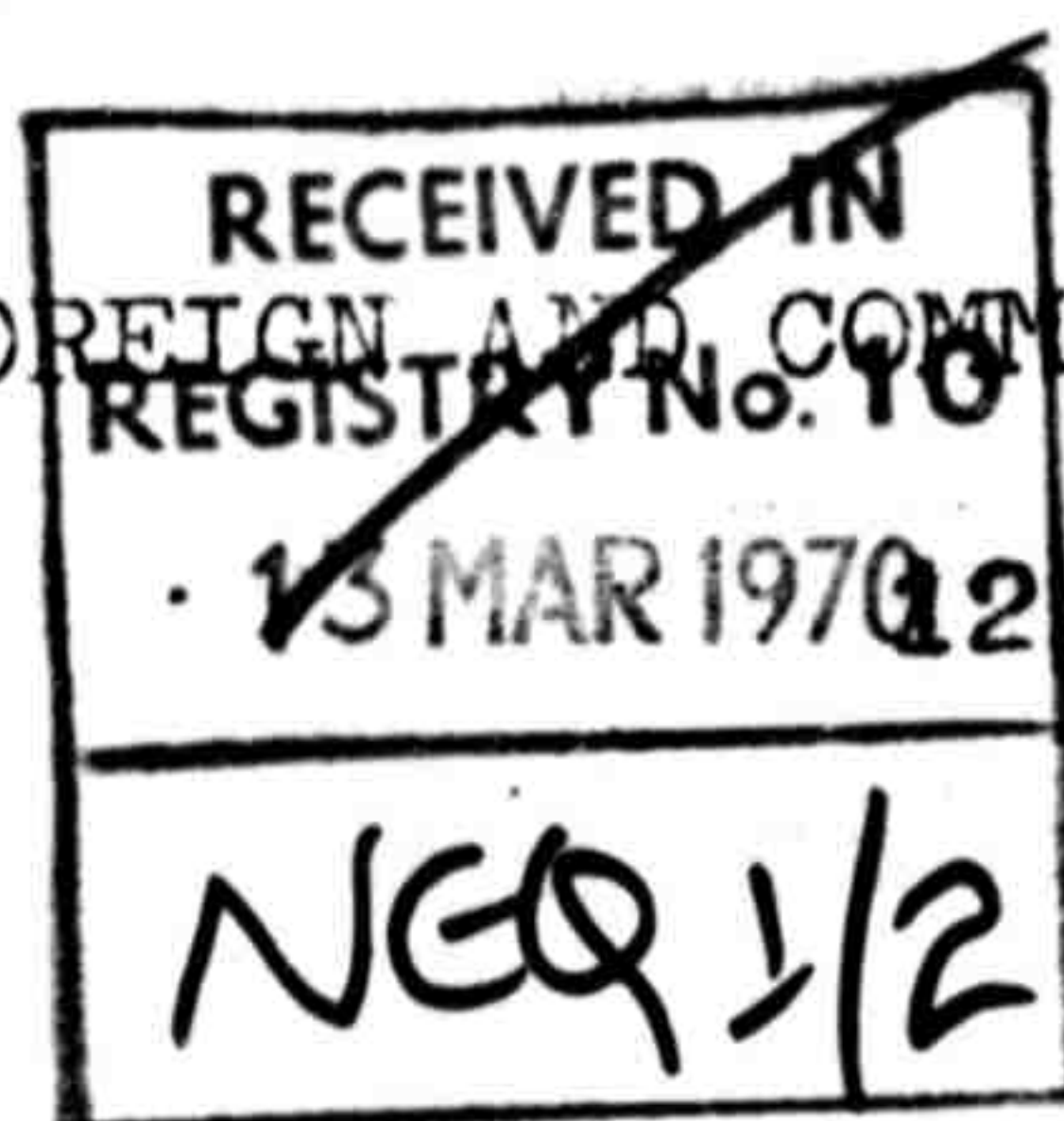
P.A. of 13/3

EN CLAIR

PRIORITY BAGHDAD

TEL NO 201

TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE



28

TOP COPY

UNCLASSIFIED

ADDRESSED TO FCO TELNO 201 OF 12 MARCH RFI TO MOD TEHRAN
BEIRUT KUWAIT AND ANKARA AND SAVING TO AMMAN BAHRAIN CAIRO
JEDDA KHARTOUM TEL AVIV TRIPOLI WASHINGTON AND PARIS.

THE KURDISH PROBLEM.

THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMAND COUNCIL (RCC) ISSUED A STATEMENT ON
11 MARCH ANNOUNCING THE QUOTE COMPLETE AND CONSTITUTIONAL
SETTLEMENT OF THE KURDISH ISSUE UNQUOTE. A THREE DAY NATIONAL
HOLIDAY HAS BEEN DECLARED.

2. THE STATEMENT RECALLED THE STEPS ALREADY TAKEN BY THE
BA'ATH GOVERNMENT TO RE-ESTABLISH PEACE AND SECURITY THROUGHOUT
THE NORTH OF IRAQ: RECOGNITION OF KURDISH NATIONALITY, SETTING UP
SULAIMANIYAH UNIVERSITY AND A KURDISH ACADEMY OF LETTERS,
ENDORSEMENT OF KURDISH CULTURAL AND LANGUAGE RIGHTS, PROMULGATION
OF THE GOVERNORATES LAW, AND THE GENERAL AMNESTY TO ALL WHO
HAD TAKEN PART IN THE FIGHTING. IT WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE
RCC'S CONTACTS WITH BARZANI, CHAIRMAN OF THE KURDISH DEMOCRATIC
PARTY HAD SHOWN THAT ALL CONCERNED WERE CONVINCED OF THE NEED
TO APPROVE AND TO IMPLEMENT THE CONTENTS OF THIS STATEMENT,
AND THE RCC HAD THEREFORE DECIDED ON THE FOLLOWING (MAIN
POINTS ONLY):-

A. THE KURDISH LANGUAGE TOGETHER WITH ARABIC TO BE THE
OFFICIAL LANGUAGE IN AREAS POPULATED BY A KURDISH MAJORITY.

B. KURDS TO SHARE IN GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC OFFICE INCLUDING MINISTRIES AND THE ARMY COMMAND IN AN EQUITABLE RATIO.

C. THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PREVIOUS RESOLUTIONS REGARDING LANGUAGE AND CULTURAL RIGHTS TO BE SPEEDED UP.

D. THE RE-INSTATEMENT OF ALL STUDENTS, WORKERS AND OFFICIALS WITHOUT RESTRICTION.

E. OFFICIALS IN KURDISH AREAS TO BE KURDS OR KURDISH SPEAKING.

F. THE KURDS TO HAVE THE RIGHT TO SET UP STUDENT, YOUTH ETC ORGANISATIONS WITHIN CORRESPONDING IRAQI NATIONAL BODIES.

G. A BODY OF SPECIALISTS TO BE CONSTITUTED TO DEVELOP THE KURDISH AREA AND TO COMPENSATE IT FOR ITS LAST SUFFERINGS. AN ADEQUATE BUDGET TO BE SET ASIDE FOR THIS. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT TO BE PLANNED IN SUCH A WAY AS TO ENSURE BALANCED DEVELOPMENT THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY HAVING REGARD TO THE BACKWARDNESS OF THE KURDISH AREA.

H. PENSIONS TO BE PAID TO THE FAMILIES OF THOSE KURDS KILLED OR DISABLED AS A RESULT OF THE FIGHTING; HOUSING, EMPLOYMENT AND OTHER RELIEF MEASURES TO BE PUT IN HAND.

I. INHABITANTS OF ARAB AND KURDISH VILLAGES TO RETURN TO THEIR FORMER HOMES OR, IF THIS IS NOT POSSIBLE, TO BE RESETTLED.

J. IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGRARIAN REFORM LAW IN THE KURDISH AREA IN ORDER TO ELIMINATE FEUDALISM AND GIVE LAND TO THE PEASANTS.

K. AMENDMENT OF THE INTERIM CONSTITUTION TO VOICE THE QUESTION OF NATIONALITY AND LANGUAGE; THESE POINTS TO BE COVERED SIMILARLY IN THE PERMANENT CONSTITUTION.

- L. THE KURD'S BROADCASTING STATION AND HEAVY WEAPONS TO BE HANDED OVER TO THE GOVERNMENT: THIS WILL DEPEND ON IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL STAGES OF THE AGREEMENT.
 - M. A KURD TO BE ONE OF THE VICE PRESIDENTS.
 - N. THE GOVERNORATES LAW TO BE AMENDED TO CONFORM WITH THE CONTENTS OF THIS STATEMENT.
 - O. THE NECESSARY MEASURES TO BE TAKEN IN CONSULTATION WITH THE HIGH COMMITTEE SPECIFICALLY SET UP TO SUPERVISE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENT: TO UNIFY THE GOVERNORATES AND ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS POPULATED BY A KURDISH MAJORITY: THIS WILL BE ON THE BASIS OF AN OFFICIAL CENSUS YET TO BE TAKEN. THE STATE TO ENDEAVOUR TO DEVELOP THE ADMINISTRATIVE UNITY OF THE AREA AND EXTEND THE EXERCISE BY THE KURDISH PEOPLE THERE OF ALL THEIR NATIONAL RIGHTS AS A GUARANTEE TO THEIR ENJOYMENT OF AUTONOMY. IN THE INTERIM, KUDISH NATIONAL AFFAIRS TO BE CO-ORDINATED BY PERIODICAL MEETINGS BETWEEN THE HIGH COMMITTEE AND THE GOVERNORS OF THE NORTH.
 - P. THE EXPLOITATION OF THE NATURAL WEALTH IN THE AUTONOMOUS AREA TO REMAIN THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE REPUBLICAN AUTHORITIES.
 - Q. THE KURDISH PEOPLE TO SHARE IN THE LIGISLATURE IN A PROPORTION CORRESPONDING WITH THE NUMBER OF THE KURDISH POPULATION.
3. A TELEGRAM HAS BEEN PUBLISHED IN WHICH BARZANI EXPRESSES THE KURD'S APPROVAL OF THE STATEMENT AND PROMISES TO COOPERATE

IN CARRYING OUT ITS PROVISION IN SPIRIT AND IN LETTER WITH
A VIEW TO CONSOLIDATING PERMANENT PEACE AND SAFEGUARDING THE
INTERESTS AND RIGHTS OF THE IRAQI PEOPLE, ARABS, KURDS,
TURKOMANS AND OTHER NATIONALITIES.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING TO AMMAN BAHRAIN CAIRO JEDDA KHARTOUM
TEL AVIV TRIPOLI WASHINGTON AND PARIS.

MR. BALFOUR PAUL

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]
[PASSED TO M.O.D.]

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PRIORITY BAGHDAD

TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

TELEGRAM NUMBER 202

12 MARCH 1970

CONFIDENTIAL.

RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY NO. 10
13 MAR 1970

NEQ 1/2

FOLLOWING RECEIVED FROM BAGHDAD.

ADDRESSED TO FCO TELNO .202 OF 12 MARCH REPEATED FOR INFORMATION TO MOD, TEHRAN, BEIRUT, KUWAIT AND ANKARA AND SAVING TO AMMAN BAHRAIN CAIRO JEDDA KHARTOUM TEL AVIV TRIPOLI WASHINGTON AND PARIS.

MY I.P.T.: THE KURDISH PROBLEM.

FROM HAWLEY.

DESPITE THE GREAT FANFARE ATTACHED TO THE PUBLICATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMAND COUNCIL STATEMENT, THE DOCUMENT IS SEEMINGLY INTENTIONALLY OBSCURE IN PARTS AND THERE OMMISSIONS ON MATTERS OF SUBSTANCE. IT SEEMS MERELY TO AMOUNT TO AN AGREEMENT TO AGNUE (SIC).

Agree

2. THE MAIN DOUBTFUL POINTS ARE: (A) THE OBSCURE REFERENCE TO THE SHARE OF THE KURDISH PEOPLE IN THE LEGISLATURE, WHICH IS PRESUMABLY THE NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL THE CREATION OF WHICH HAS BEEN UNOFFICIALLY REPORTED TO BE THE GOVERNMENT'S COUNTER PROPOSAL TO THE KURDISH DEMAND FOR REPRESENTATION IN THE R.C.,C. SINCE IT DOES NOT EXIST ITS POWERS ARE NOT DEFINED AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE R.C.C. IS NOT SPECIFIED, IT IS NOT CLEAR WHAT VOICE THE KURDS WILL HAVE IN GOVERNMENT. (B) OBSCURITY ABOUT THE SUM TO BE ALLOCATED FOR DEVELOPMENT OF THE NORTH AND THE PROPORTION OF STATE REVENUES WHICH WILL GO TO THE KURDISH AREA WHEN ESTABLISHED. (C) OBSCURITY ABOUT THE PRECISE EXTENT OF THE KURDISH AREA, WHICH WILL BE THOSE PARTS IN WHICH A CENSUS YET TO BE TAKEN DETERMINES THAT A KURDISH MAJORITY EXISTS. (D) ABSENCE OF ANY MENTION OF THE FUTURE OF BARZANIS PISH MERGA APART FROM A REFERENCE TO THE SURRENDER OF THEIR HEAVY WEAPONS AT A LATE STAGE.

3. IT MAY OF COURSE BE DUE TO THE NEED TO PREPARE PUBLIC OPINION BY ARAB AND KURDISH THAT SOME OF THESE PARTICULARLY POINTS HAVE BEEN LEFT OBSCURE AT THIS STAGE AND THAT AGREEMENT ON ONE OR MORE OF THEM HAS IN FACT BEEN REACHED. ON THE OTHER HAND,

CONFIDENTIAL

/IT SEEMS

IT SEEMS MORE LIKELY THAT THE STATEMENT SHOULD BE SEEN AS A STATEMENT OF INTENT INCORPORATING VARIOUS HEADS OF AGREEMENT, THE MOST IMPORTANT OF WHICH REQUIRE FURTHER FURTHER NEGOTIATION AND COULD CAUSE SUFFICIENT DIFFICULTY TO UPSET THE GENERAL MEASURE OF AGREEMENT APPARENTLY REACHED. ITS IMPORTANCE LIES IN THE PUBLICLY EXPRESSED DESIRE OF BOTH SIDES TO ACHIEVE A SETTLEMENT ON A REASONABLE BASIS.

4. IT IS INTERESTING TO SPECULATE ON THE REASONS WHY THE NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH HAVE BEEN GOING ON FOR TWO MONTHS AND HAVE IN THE RECENT PAST BE RUMOURED TO HAVE COLLAPSED, HAVE SUDDENLY REACHED THE STAGE AT WHICH AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE COULD BE ANNOUNCED. IT IS SIGNIFICANT THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT POINTS ARE AT THE END OF THE LIST AND ARE BRIEFLY STATED. THE EXPLANATION MAY BE THAT BARZANI CONSIDERED HE HAD PUSHED HIS DEMANDS BEYOND THE LIMIT WHICH THE GOVERNMENT COULD ACCEPT AND, RATHER THAN RESUME FIGHTING, ACCEPTED AN IMPRECISE AGREEMENT WHICH WILL GIVE SCOPE FOR FURTHER NEGOTIATION. MUCH REMAINS TO BE SETTLED.

5. THE GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE CAUSE FOR SELF-CONGRATULATION IF THE AGREEMENT SURVIVES. THEY WILL HAVE BROUGHT TO AN END THE ENORMOUS WASTE OF RESOURCES IN FIGHTING THE KURDS AND WILL HAVE GREATER ROOM FOR MANOEUVRE IN PROSECUTING THEIR AIMS IN THE PALESTINE PROBLEM AND IN THE GULF. THERE ARE INDEED SOME INDICATIONS THAT THE WISH TO DEVOTE MORE ATTENTION TO THE GULF HAS BEEN AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN THE GOVERNMENT'S THINKING. THE PRESSURE BROUGHT TO BEAR ON BOTH SIDES TO REACH A SETTLEMENT BY THE SOVIET UNION COULD BE ATTRIBUTABLE TO THE SAME MOTIVE. FOR BARZANI THE STATEMENTS REPRESENTS AN IMPORTANT MILESTONE. HE STANDS TO GAIN MUCH AT THE RISK OF LOSING IRANIAN SUPPORT: HE MAY EVEN SUCCEED IN KEEPING THAT OPTION OPEN WHILE SEEING HOW MUCH MORE HE CAN (GP UNDEC) FROM BAGHDAD.

FCO PASS TO MOD TEHRAN BEIRUT KUWAIT AND ANKARA AND SAVING TO AMMAN BAHRAIN CAIRO JEDDA KHARTOUM TEL AVIV TRIPOLI WASHINGTON AND PARIS.

MR. BALFOUR PAUL [REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

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CYPHER CAT A & BY BAG

IMMEDIATE FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

TELEGRAM NUMBER 268

TO BAGHDAD

12 MARCH 1970 (NEQ)

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CONFIDENTIAL.

ADDRESSED TO BAGHDAD TELEGRAM NUMBER 268 OF 12 MARCH, REPEATED FOR INFORMATION TO TEHRAN AND SAVING TO ANKARA AND BEIRUT.

KURDS.

QUOTE THE TIMES UNQUOTE OF TODAY AND OTHER DAILIES, REFLECTING AGENCY STORIES, QUOTES AN IRAQ NEWS AGENCY REPORT THAT FIGHTING IN THE NORTH HAS STOPPED AND DEFINITIVE AGREEMENT REACHED BETWEEN THE IRAQI AUTHORITIES AND BARZANI. THIS SEEMS SOMEWHAT SURPRISING IN VIEW OF RECENT REPORTS THAT NEGOTIATIONS HAD BROKEN DOWN.

2. NO CONFIRMATION IS YET AVAILABLE HERE FROM MONITORING OF KURDISH RADIO, OR OTHER INDEPENDENT SOURCES.

3. GRATEFUL FOR YOUR ASSESSMENT OF THE POSITION BY 1000 HOURS GMT TOMORROW (FRIDAY).

STEWART

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ARABIAN D.

S.E.D.

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En Clair

IMMEDIATE BAGHDAD TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

Tel No.203

12 March 1970

UNCLASSIFIED

Addressed to FCO tel No.203 of 12 March,
repeated for information to Tehran.

30
Your telegram No.268. [Kurds].

Please see my two immediately preceding telegrams.

Mr. Balfour Paul

DEPARTMENTAL DISTRIBUTION:

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Arabian Dept

S. Eur. Dept

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Re. RM
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Mr Hinchcliffe
Ba
PMM

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13 MAR 1970
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THE TIMES

13 MAR 1970

Cutting dated

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Kurds' leader backs pact with Iraq

From Our Correspondent

Beirut, March 12

Mullah Mustafa Barzani, the Kurdish leader known as the "Red Mullah", in a message read over Baghdad radio last night put his seal to the agreement between the Iraq Government and the Kurdish rebels which had earlier been announced in a broadcast by President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr.

The Mullah said that the agreement granted the Kurds their just and equal rights and announced that he and his

Kurdish Democratic Party (K.D.P.) were bound by its terms and would cooperate with the revolutionary Government in Baghdad.

The agreement recognizes the right of nearly a million Kurds to autonomy within the Iraq Republic. The Districts inhabited by the Kurds in the north are to be unified administratively. Their boundaries will be defined by agreement between Kurdish leaders and a higher committee, presumably representing Arabs and Kurds, which will supervise the carrying out of the pact.

Until this area is unified there is to be coordination in governing it between the governors of the Kurdish districts and the Government in Baghdad.

The provisional constitution is being amended to recognize the Kurdish language as an official one, together with Arabic, in the Kurdish area. The Kurds will be represented in the legislature, in the Government and the Services in proportion to their strength among the population of Iraq, which is believed to be about 15 per cent.

There is to be a Kurdish Vice-President and the Kurdish holiday, the *Nawrouz*, is to become a national holiday as a sign of unity.

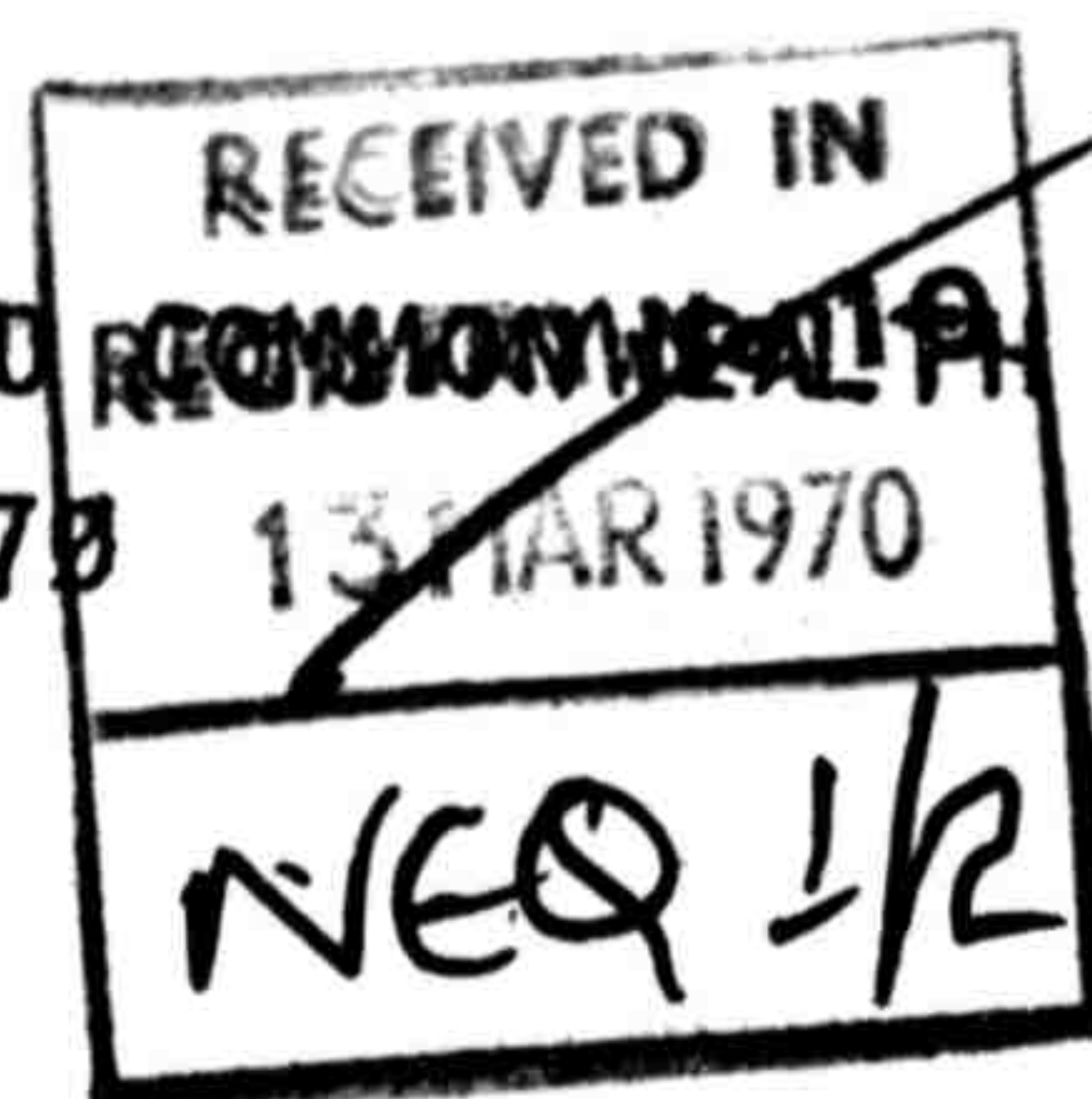
The cultural rights of the Kurds are recognized. They will have a weekly and a monthly publication in Kurdish. Kurds or other people with fluent Kurdish are to be employed in the Civil Service in the north. Kurdish students are to be given a proportion of seats in universities, colleges and military academies and the Kurds will have their own university in Suleimaniya.

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CYPHER/CAT A
FLASH BAGHDAD
TELEGRAM NO. 206

CONFIDENTIAL

TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE
13 MARCH 1970



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FOLLOWING RECEIVED FROM BAGHDAD.

ADDRESSED TO FCO TELNO 206/13 MARCH RFI PRIORITY TEHRAN AND
SAVING ANKARA AND BEIRUT.

FROM HAWLEY. (31)

MY TELNO 203 : KURDS.

THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE AGREEMENT CERTAINLY CAME AS A
SURPRISE IN BAGHDAD THOUGH THERE HAD BEEN EARLIER REPORTS OF
FRESH CONTACTS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE KURDS.
NONETHELESS MANY OBSERVERS WERE SCEPTICAL ABOUT ANY SUCCESSFUL
OUTCOME.

2. IT SEEMS THAT SADDAM HUSSEIN AL TAKRITI, THE VICE PRESIDENT
OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMAND COUNCIL, HAS PLAYED A VERY
IMPORTANT ROLE AND HAS VISITED BARZANI ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS.
OTHER SENIOR MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT HAVE ALSO BEEN HEAVILY
INVOLVED IN THE LAST FEW DAYS.

3. A TELEGRAM FROM BARZANI WAS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS
ON 12 MARCH TO BAKR IN WHICH HE CONGRATULATED THE
PRESIDENT ON THE "REALISATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC AND PEACEFUL
SETTLEMENT OF THE KURDISH ISSUE." THIS APART, WE HAVE NO
INDEPENDENT CONFIRMATION OF THE AGREEMENT. BUT BAGHDAD IS
ENJOYING ITS 3 DAY HOLIDAY AND NO ONE HERE QUESTIONS
THAT THE SETTLEMENT IS GENUINE, WHATEVER THEIR VIEWS ON HOW
LASTING IT WILL PROVE TO BE.

SEE M I F T.

po. PWW
nb

FCO PASS TEHRAN ANKARA AND BEIRUT.

MR. BALFOUR PAUL

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

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FLASH BAGHDAD TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

TELNO 207

13 MARCH 1970

UNCLASSIFIED

(34)

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY No. 10 13 MAR 1970 REFI TEHRAN NCO 1/2

ADDRESSED TO FCO TEL NO 207 OF 13 MARCH
AND SAVING TO ANKARA AND BEIRUT.

KURDISH SETTLEMENT.

THE TEXT OF A TELEGRAM SENT BY BARZANI TO PRESIDENT BAKR WAS PUBLISHED ON 12 MARCH. THE TELEGRAM CONGRATULATES THE PRESIDENT ON THE REALIZATION OF THE 'DEMOCRATIC AND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT' OF THE KURDISH ISSUE WHICH ADMITS THE 'JUST NATIONALIST RIGHTS' OF THE KURDS 'INCLUDING SELF RULE (AUTONOMY)' BARZANI PUTS THE BLAME FOR EARLIER FAILURES TO REACH AGREEMENT ON THE ISOLATION OF PREVIOUS IRAQI REGIMES FROM PUBLIC OPINION. THE KURDS RESPONDED POSITIVELY TO THE INITIATIVE OF THE BA'ATH PARTY TOWARDS REACHING A SETTLEMENT WHICH NOW ACHIEVED WILL STRENGTHEN NATIONAL UNITY IN THE FACE OF THE THREATS FROM IMPERIALISM AND REACTION.

2. BARZANI CONFIRMS KURDISH SUPPORT FOR THE STRUGGLE OF THE ARAB NATION AT THIS CRUCIAL JUNCTURE. THE KDP WILL COOPERATE CLOSELY WITH THE BA'ATH PARTY AND THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT IN IMPLEMENTING THE AGREEMENT TO BUILD A PERMANENT PEACE AND SAFEGUARD THE RIGHTS OF ARABS, KURDS, TURKOMANS AND OTHER MINORITIES. BARGANI ENDS BY CALLING FOR AN END TO THE BITTERNESS OF THE PAST AND THE COOPERATION OF ALL LOYAL CITIZENS FOR THE GOOD OF IRAQ.

F.C.O. PASS ANKARA AND BEIRUT.

MR. BALFOUR PAUL

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

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20 PWW
nb

35

EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF IRAQ
21, QUEEN'S GATE
LONDON, S.W.7.

The following is an official communique from the Embassy
of the Republic of Iraq on the settlement of the Kurdish
----- issue -----

The 17th July Revolution vowed from its first days its aim to achieve national unity for the Iraqi people without any discrimination as to race, language or religion, or social origin. The settlement of the Kurdish question in Iraq was in the forefront of all other national problems which faced the Revolution, particularly as the previous regimes failed to solve it. The Revolution attempted from the very beginning to deal with this national problem with responsibility and in accordance with democratic and revolutionary principles and on the basis of the resolutions taken by the Seventh Regional Congress of the Socialist Arab Baath Party, all this emanating from the struggle and policies of the Party and its humanist, nationalist, socialist and democratic ideology. The Baath Party has always respected the national aspirations of the Kurdish masses, within its progressive national context and it considered these aspirations to be legitimate and humanitarian rights; and recognised the strong relationship between the fulfilment of these rights and the strength and security of the struggle of the popular masses in Iraq towards the elimination of the vestiges of imperialism; and complete dedications to the present fateful national battle in Palestine; and the continuation of the historical struggle to achieve Arab unity, freedom and socialism.

The Revolution which is naturally bound by the principles and resolutions of the Party has been in contact with the leadership of Sayed Mustafa Al-Barazani, Head of the Kurdistan Democratic Party. There have been exchanges of views for the establishment of national unity and termination of bloodshed and economic waste in the north of the country.

In accordance with the above principles and aims of the Revolution and the Party a statement of paramount importance was issued on the 11th March, 1970 by the Revolutionary Command Council. The following are the most important points:-

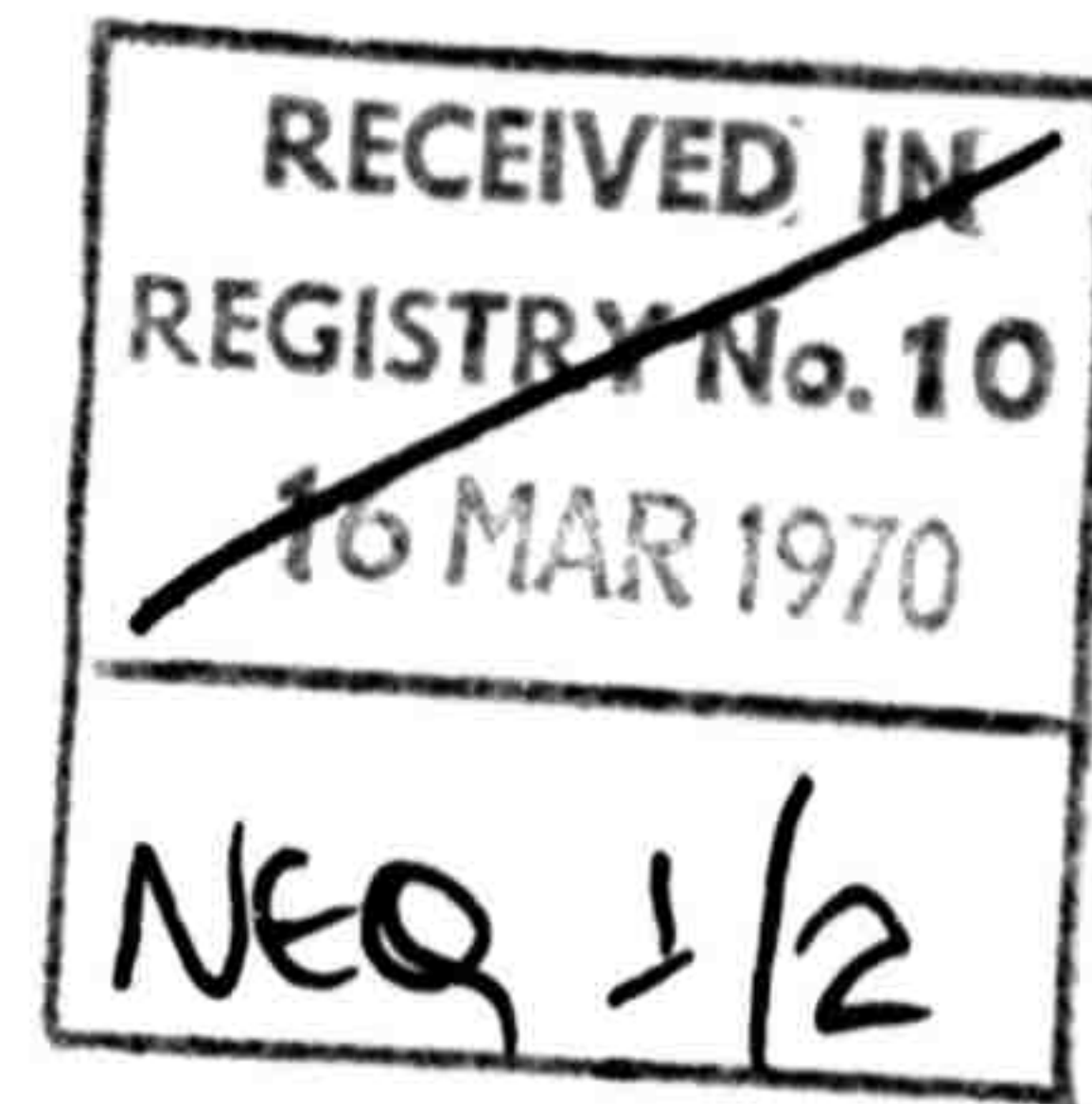
1. The Kurdish language is to be the official language in parity with the Arabic language in the regions where the Kurds form a majority of the population.
2. The recognition of the principle of Kurdish participation in Government and of indiscrimination among citizens in all government services.
3. Plans were laid to deal with the cultural and educational backwardness which the Kurds suffered in the past.
4. Recognition of the right of the Kurdish people to set up popular organizations.
5. The reinstatement into service of all former military and civil Kurdish officials.

Cont'd....

6. The formation of a Board composed of specialists to develop the Kurdish region in all aspects.
7. The Economic Plan will be prepared to secure a balanced development for all backward regions of Iraq, taking into special consideration the backwardness in the Kurdish region.
8. Rehabilitation of those Kurds who suffered and those in need.
9. Speeding up the process of implimenting the Agrarian Reform Law in the Kurdish region.
10. Agreement was reached to amend the Interim Constitution to confirm that the Iraqi people are of two basic nationalities: Arab and Kurdish nationality.
11. It was agreed that one of the Vice-Presidents will be a Kurd.
12. To take the necessary measures which will deepen and enlarge the exercise of the Kurdish people of their national rights in order to guarantee their autonomy within the framework of the Iraqi Republic.
13. The Kurdish people will be represented in the legislative organ in accordance with its number in ratio to the population of Iraq.

Mr. Barazani sent a telegram to the President of the Republic declaring that he will be bound by the settlement, in letter and spirit.

12/3/70



36

RECORD OF CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE
PARLIAMENTARY UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE
AND THE IRAQI AMBASSADOR HELD AT THE
FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE ON
THURSDAY, 12 MARCH 1970, AT 4 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Evan Luard M.P. H.E. Mr. Kadhim M. Khalaf
Mr. K.I. Ferguson

Mr. Khalaf handed Mr. Luard a translation of the communiqué he had received from Baghdad on the agreement between the Iraq Government and the Kurds. He briefly outlined the contents of the communiqué. Mr. Luard asked if it would provide for Kurdish autonomy in Iraq or for a separation of forces. Mr. Khalaf said that Barazani would be able to retain his personal armed guard in his own areas. He could not understand why the Iran Government criticised the agreement.

2. Mr. Khalaf said that during his recent stay in Baghdad, he had discussed with General Ammash the question of oil royalties due to the Iraq Government from the Iraq Petroleum Company (I.P.C.). General Ammash had been dissatisfied with the visits of I.P.C. representatives, but remained eager to settle the matter. He had suggested that I.P.C. should give the Iraq Government, as a gesture of their readiness to reach agreement, a proportion of the £80 million that was owed to them, say £30 or £40

/million.

- 2 -

million. Mr. Luard said that this was a question for the oil companies. He understood that they had made it clear that an essential factor in reaching agreement was a settlement governing the re-sale rights of the oil from the contested area. The oil companies were ready to negotiate, but the first step must come from the Iraq Government.

3. Mr. Khalaf then turned to the article in the "Sunday Times" of 1 March about the Iraqi Embassy in London, which he condemned as disgraceful. He asked Mr. Luard whether the Foreign and Commonwealth Office might set the record straight in a reply to the "Sunday Times". Mr. Luard said that we could not possibly do that, as it was a matter between the Embassy and the "Sunday Times". Mr. Khalaf could sue the newspaper for libel, or draw the article to the attention of the Press Council. But the information surely could only have been derived from inside the Embassy itself. Mr. Khalaf asked Mr. Luard what the British Embassy in Baghdad would think if an insulting article was written about them in a Baghdad newspaper. Mr. Luard said that we would be able to do nothing to prevent it. He stressed that there was nothing which the Foreign and Commonwealth Office could do about the "Sunday Times" article. Mr. Khalaf said that it interfered with the work of the Embassy, and this was something which the Foreign and Commonwealth Office should prevent.

4. Turning to the Arab/Israel dispute, Mr. Khalaf referred to an alleged French radio report which, quoting British sources, stated that America and Russia had agreed to stop arms shipments to the

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- 3 -

Middle East. Mr. Luard said that this was most unlikely. The United Kingdom was of course anxious to prevent further supplies of arms to the area, and the Prime Minister had mentioned this in his reply to Mr. Kosygin's Note. He would be pleased to hear of such an agreement, although he doubted whether the report was true.

5. Mr. Khalaf asked Mr. Luard whether there were any encouraging signs from New York and whether it was likely that Dr. Jarring would resume his mission. Mr. Luard said that there had been a slight improvement, although there would be little value in Dr. Jarring going to the Middle East without prior agreement between the Four Powers on more detailed guidance on which to base his mission. There had been difficulties in the Four Power talks but now there were some slight signs of progress. In reply to Mr. Khalaf's question whether the Russian posture had become less rigid, Mr. Luard said that both sides had become more flexible, first the Americans in Mr. Rogers' speech on withdrawal and more recently the Russians on the question of commitment to peace. There was considerable agreement on the question of the Israel/U.A.R. and Israel/Jordan frontiers.

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RMM

Mr Hindcliffe

17/12

With the Compliments of the
 Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State

The Iraqi Ambassador handed
 this to me hand during his call
 yesterday. The record will follow
 later today.

W. Ferguson

R 13/3
 Mr Egerton

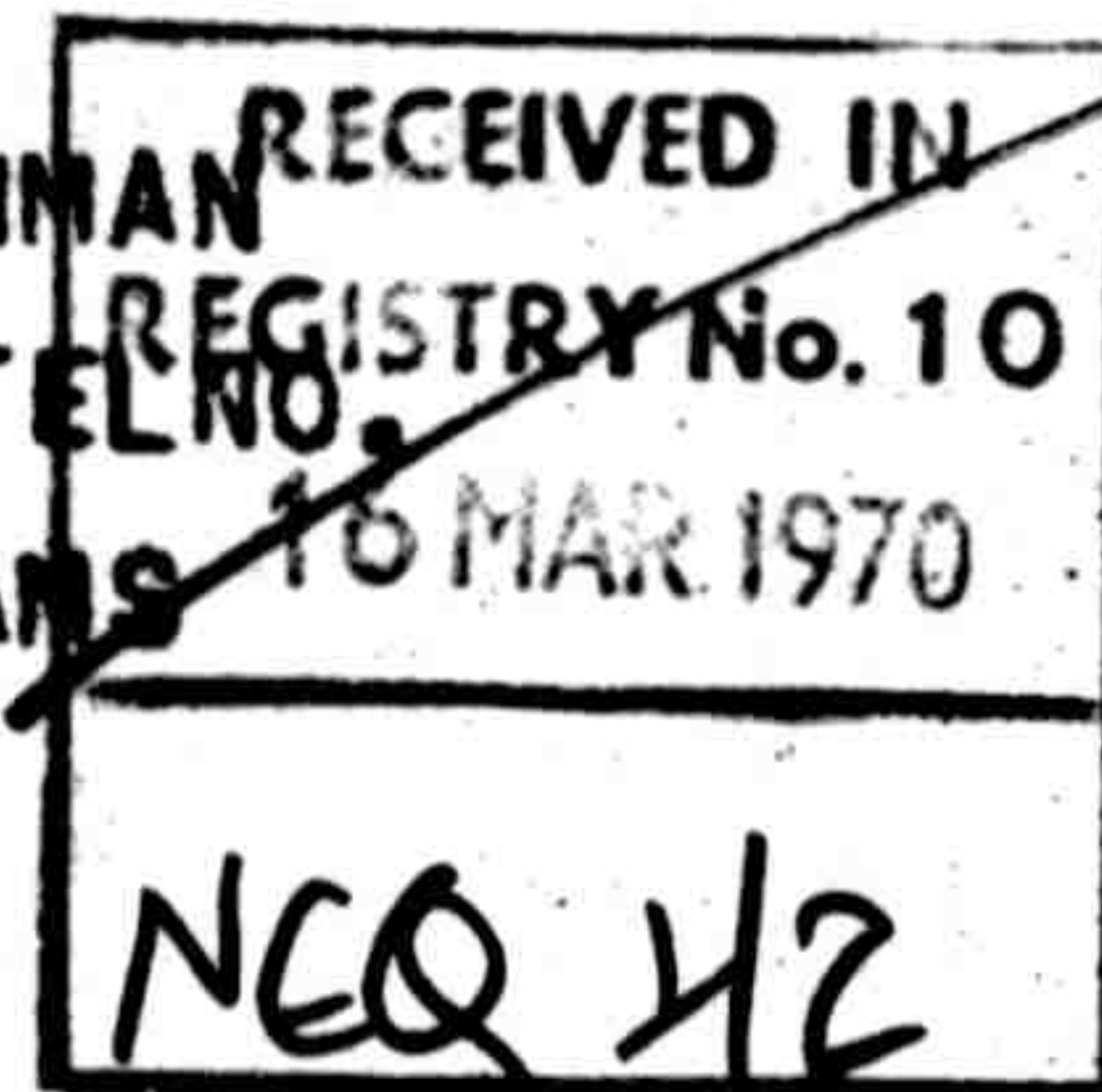
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TO MOD UK
MARCH 1970

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FOR MODUK INFO F C O JISNE JIS GULF DEFAT AMMAN AND DEFAT TEHRAN (DEFCONCEN PASS TO JISNE AND JIS GULF) TELNO FOH 1309054MAR 70. FROM DEFAT. FURTHER TO BAGHDAD TELEGRAMS 201 AND 202 NOTAL. THE KURDISH AGREEMENT.



1. IN MY DA/202 DATED 28 FEB PARAGRAPH 6 AND IN PREVIOUS REPORTS THERE HAS BEEN SOME SPECULATION ON THE REDEPLOYMENT OF IRAQI FORCES IN THE EVENT OF A SETTLEMENT WITH THE KURDS. WHILST MUTUAL CONFIDENCE IN THE EARLY IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TERMS MAY BE SUCH AS TO JUSTIFY AN IMMEDIATE REDEPLOYMENT OF ALL IRAQI FORCES IN THE NORTH, THE APPARENTLY GENUINE DESIRE OF BOTH PARTIES FOR SUCH A SETTLEMENT AND THE POPULAR ACCLAIM FOR THE ANNOUNCEMENT INDICATE THE EARLY MOVE OF SUBSTANTIAL NUMBERS OF TROOPS.
2. MY DA/202 DATED 28 FEB REPORTED THAT SOME MOVEMENT TO STRENGTHEN THE IRANIAN BORDER HAD ALREADY TAKEN PLACE ALTHOUGH FULL DETAILS WERE NOT KNOWN. THERE IS NOW SPECULATION ON THE EXTENT TO WHICH THIS FRONT WILL BE GIVEN PRIORITY OVER THE REINFORCEMENT OF THE SALAH AL-DIN FORCE IN JORDAN.
3. WHILST IT IS IDLE TO GUESS AT THE PROPORTIONS LIKELY TO BE ALLOTTED TO EACH TASK THERE ARE INDICATIONS HERE OF AN INTENDED INCREASE IN THE CONTINGENT IN JORDAN. YESTERDAY'S POPULAR DEMONSTRATION ASSUMED SUCH A MOVE BUT MORE SIGNIFICANT IS THE CONFIRMATION BY A WELL INFORMED SOURCE OF STEPS TO CREATE A CORPS HEADQUARTERS IN JORDAN, AND STRONG INDICATIONS OF THE FORMATION OF A NEW DIVISION OR DIVISIONS IN THE ARMY. IN ADDITION IT IS DIFFICULT TO SEE HOW THE GOVERNMENT COULD AVOID INCREASING THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THE ARAB CAUSE IN THE LIGHT OF THEIR DECLARED STAND ON THE PALESTINE ISSUE.
4. DESPITE THIS, THE PRESENT RELATIONS WITH IRAN AND PROBABLE IRAQI INTENTIONS IN THE GULF ARE SUCH AS TO DISCOUNT ONE BBC COMMENTATOR'S SUGGESTION THAT 60,000 MORE IRAQI TROOPS ARE LIKELY TO ARRIVE IN JORDAN THEREBY ALTERING THE BALANCE OF POWER IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

PS
[Handwritten signature]
[Handwritten initials]

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- 2 -

FCO PASS AMMAN AND TEHRAN FOR DEFATS.

MR. BALFOUR PAUL

/REPEATED AS REQUESTED/
/SENT TO D.C.C./

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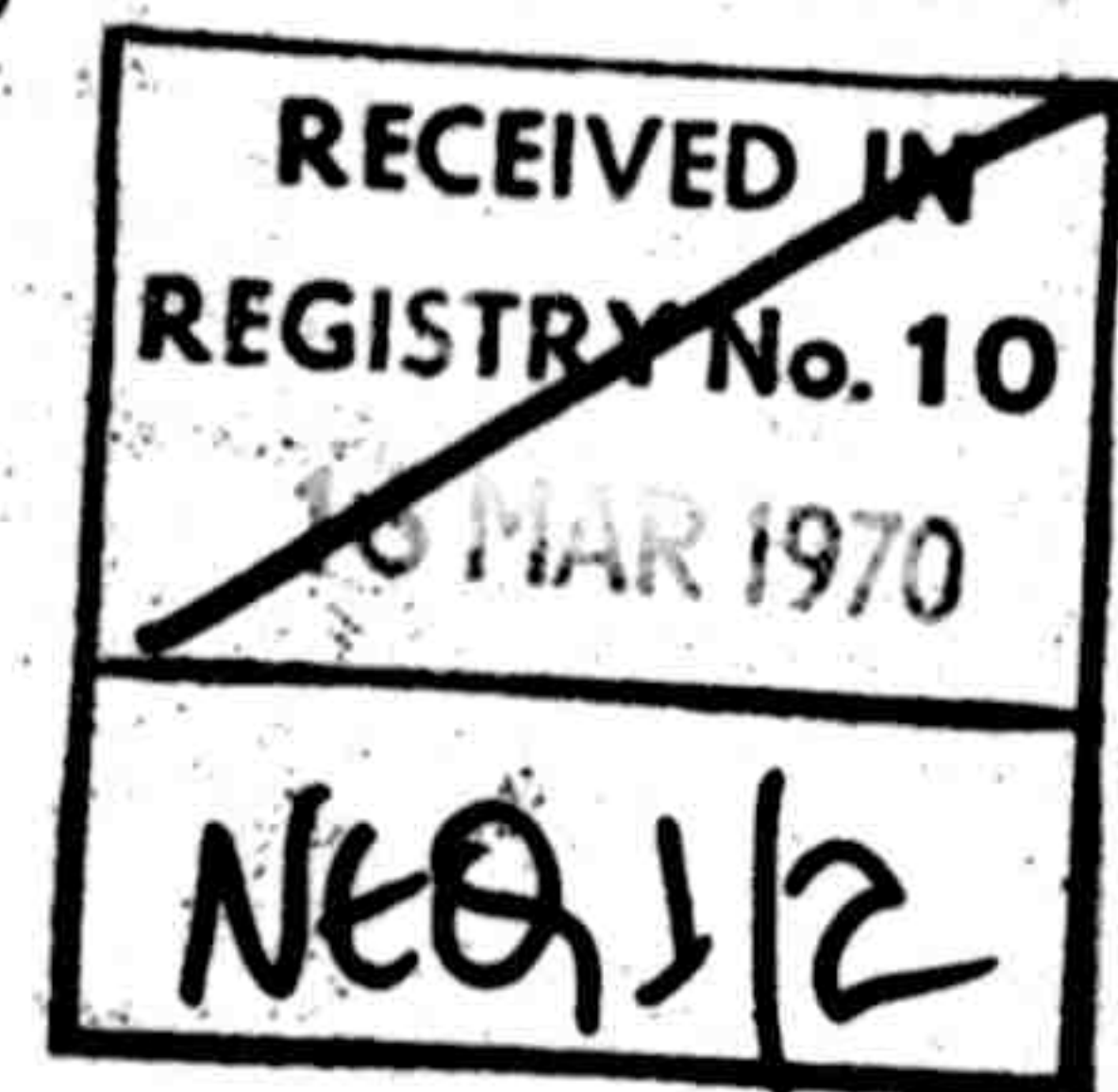
IMMEDIATE BAGHDAD TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

TELNO 211

16 MARCH 1970

CONFIDENTIAL

ADDRESSED TO FCO TELNO. 211 OF 16 MARCH



QUITE A NUMBER OF GOVERNMENTS, THE ITALIAN CERTAINLY INCLUDED, HAVE BEEN SENDING CONGRATULATORY MESSAGES, BY ONE MEANS OR ANOTHER, TO THE IRAQ GOVERNMENT ON THE KURDISH SETTLEMENT.

2. I DO NOT MUCH LIKE THIS PROCEDURE, BUT IF FURTHER ENQUIRY REVEALS THAT WE SHALL BE CONSPICUOUS IF WE DO NOT DO SO, YOU MAY WISH TO FOLLOW SUIT. PRESS EDITORIALS ARE CURRENTLY ALLEGING THAT IMPERIALISM IS CASTING DOUBTS ON THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE SETTLEMENT.

3. I AM HOPING FOR AN APPOINTMENT WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER ON OTHER MATTERS TOMORROW OR SOON AFTER. THIS WOULD BE CONVENIENT OPPORTUNITY TO CONVEY CONGRATULATIONS ORALLY ON YOUR BEHALF.

4. IF MY APPOINTMENT FAILS (AS IT MAY) TO MATERIALISE, DO YOU WISH ME TO CONVEY CONGRATULATIONS IN WRITING?

MR. BALFOUR PAUL

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now see report

Folio O

Pa [signature] 17/3

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(ii) Excerpts from speech by the Kurdistan Democratic Party Political Bureau member, Dr. Mahmud Uthman, at Baghdad rally (broadcast live):

Fighting masses, this is an immortal event dear to all loyal citizens seeking the welfare of the homeland. The resources and capabilities of both the Arab and Kurdish liberation movements were yesterday united [applause] after difficult circumstances and enemy attempts and machinations to divide them temporarily in a way that weakened both movements.

Brothers and sisters, the rifles which were used against one another have now united to aim at the common enemy [applause]. These rifles which were turned against Arab and Kurdish citizens have now united to defend the Iraqi Republic, national unity [words indistinct].

Heroic masses, your will for peace, stability, progress and prosperity has triumphed despite the attempts and plots of the enemies, reactionaries and traitors [cheers and applause]. A new phase now lies before us. We must fully understand its dimensions and horizons. We must work together hand in hand within an alliance of the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party and the Kurdistan Democratic Party and of all good national forces and the masses especially in order firmly to establish this phase and its great achievements...

Brothers and sisters, national unity is the starting point for Arab unity. National unity is now being achieved through the proclamation and implementation of the statement. Our people and country will consequently be able to mass their capabilities and resources for the Arab nation's great battle of destiny [applause] and for the Arab nation's just struggle against its imperialist and Zionist enemies, their agents and reactionaries [applause].

On behalf of the Kurdish people and Mustafa Barzani, I hereby proclaim that our Kurdish people will continue to be a mainstay and a great ally for the Arab nation [applause]. They will work together for alliance in struggle and for all that serves the aims and interests of both Arab and Kurdish nationalities [applause]...

Fighting masses and great people, from now on our brave army will devote itself to the battle of destiny and honour [applause]. Since the proclamation of the statement, the Kurdish people's power and revolution have become part of the Iraqi Republic, which they will safeguard and defend by every means.

Forward to construction and earnest work to eliminate the effects of the past. Forward to co-operation and collaboration, forgetting all hatred. Forward to work, united for the interest of the country and people.

Long live the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party [applause]. Fight for unity, freedom and socialism. Long live our Kurdistan Democratic Party led by Barzani as a mainstay and ally of the Arab nation. Long live our joint struggle for the objectives of the Iraqi people and of both Arab and Kurdish nationalities and for the country's unity.

Statement by Mulla Barzani's Sons

Baghdad home service in Arabic 11.30 GMT 12.3.70

Text of report:

In an exclusive statement to the Iraqi News Agency, the sons of the Kurdistan Democratic Party leader, Mulla Mustafa Barzani, Idris and Mas'ud, declared that they were very happy at the historic statement on the peaceful, democratic solution of the Kurdish issue. They declared that this solution, which the former Governments could not reach, was a great victory for the Iraqi people and the revolutionary regime because it had produced a final formula for fraternity between the Arab and Kurdish nationalities in Iraq.

They said: The Arab and Kurdish peoples have aspired to this day for many years. We consider the rights acquired by the Kurdish people and announced by the Revolution Command Council a great victory for the dutiful sons of our people on the way to fraternity between the two peoples. The Kurdish people's struggle has been crowned with success. Their hopes are now a fact.

Asked about the Kurdish people's participation in the Arab battle of destiny, Idris and Mas'ud replied that the Kurdish people considered the Arab cause their own. They added: But as a result of our previous circumstances, we were far removed from this cause. Now that all arms with which brothers fought each other have been united we shall collaborate in the battle for Palestine. We consider the Palestine question a cause of a people struggling to liberate their homeland. They are fighting imperialism and Zionism.

Asked about the stages of implementation of the Revolution Command Council statement, they replied that the command of the Kurdish movement was committed to implementation of the statement - in letter and spirit. They added that the Supreme Committee would implement the provisions of the statement.

They added: We are determined to hand over all our heavy weapons to the Government when the situation settles down and life returns to normal in the Northern area.

They also said: The command of the Kurdish movement has fully accepted the statement. It realises that the Kurdish people are receiving the festival of fraternisation with happiness and rejoicing.

In conclusion they praised the positive spirit of Mulla Mustafa Barzani during the negotiations and his wish to ensure success for the negotiations to achieve our people's common objectives.

The Kurdish delegation now visiting Baghdad includes the members of the Political Bureau of the Kurdistan Democratic Party, Mahmud Uthman, Salih al-Yusufi, Nuri Shawish and Sami Mahmud; the members of the Executive Bureau of the Kurdistan Democratic Party, Dara Tawfiq, Nafiz Jalal and Muhafid Diza'i; and the sons of Mulla Mustafa Barzani, Idris and Mas'ud.

Statement by Dr. Mahmud Uthman

Baghdad home service in Arabic 17.00 GMT 12.3.70

Excerpts from report:

Dr. Mahmud Uthman, member of the Political Bureau of the Kurdistan Democratic Party and member of the negotiating Kurdish delegation, made a statement to the Iraqi News Agency dealing with a number of important questions in the light of the historic declaration issued by the Revolution Command Council on 11th March. He said [word indistinct] that the Kurdish revolution had since last night been placed at the disposal of the Iraqi Government and people... He affirmed that there was complete agreement between the Kurds and the national authority in implementing the contents of the declaration as was evident from the telegram of Mulla Mustafa Barzani, President of the Kurdistan Democratic Party, and the fact that Mulla Mustafa Barzani would be visiting Baghdad at the earliest possible opportunity...

In reply to a question from the agency about the Kurdish candidate for the post of Vice-President, Dr. Mahmud Uthman said that the choice would be by agreement between the Kurdistan Democratic Party and the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party... About the national front, he said that a discussion was taking place between the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party and the Kurdistan Democratic Party and other national groups to achieve the unity of the national forces in Iraq...

As regards the attitude of the Kurds to the Palestine revolution and to questions of the Arab nation's destiny, he said that the Kurds, who had themselves experienced struggle, appreciated the struggle of all peoples and movements for their rights. It was not strange for us to support and back the fraternal Palestine people to regain their right to their homeland...

Kurdish Delegation's Meeting with President Bakr

Baghdad home service in Arabic 19.00 GMT 12.3.70

Text of report:

President Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr received the Kurdish delegation at the Republican Palace this evening on the occasion of the peaceful, democratic solution of the Kurdish problem. The meeting lasted about 90 minutes. It was attended by Saddam Husayn [at-Tikriti], Deputy Chairman of the Iraqi Revolution Command Council and Deputy Secretary General of the Ba'th Party's Regional Command.

After the meeting, the Kurdistan Democratic Party Political Bureau Member, Dr. Mahmud Uthman, made a statement to the Iraqi News Agency... He said: We exchanged words of complete confidence with HE the President concerning the implementation as soon as possible of the statement [on the solution of the Kurdish problem]. We received an excellent response from His Excellency.

The President was presented with a gift from the leader of the Kurdistan Democratic Party, Mulla Mustafa Barzani, by Barzani's son Idris...

Jordanian Press Comment on Iraqi-Kurdish Settlement

Amman home service in Arabic 05.20 GMT 12.3.70

Excerpts from press review quotation of newspaper comment:

'Ad-Dustur': without doubt, the Kurdish conflict in fraternal Iraq has, for many years, constituted a deep wound for the Arab nation. The blood of brethren in Iraq was shed and capabilities, efforts and wealth were exhausted. This in turn affected the general Arab effort, which should have been devoted to saving the Arab nation from the Zionist menace...

The buttressing of domestic unity in the fraternal Iraqi region will provide more opportunities for it to boost its economy and exploit its wealth for the benefit of its Arab and Kurdish sons alike. On the Arab level, the settlement will provide the Arab nation with a greater opportunity to make use of the Iraqi Army in discharging the historic duty primarily assumed by the front line States and the fida'i organisations to check the Zionist advance and to purge the occupied areas of Zionist evil.

It is no secret that the settlement has an international impact. The settlement will finally close the door to imperialist and Zionist forces which are feverishly seeking to fish in troubled waters and deepen the bleeding wound of the Arab nation by circulating rumours and allegations to the world.

The happy end of this conflict can be regarded without exaggeration as an achievement with special importance at this critical stage through which the Arab nation is passing...

'Ad-Difa': The Arab countries and all other countries which love Iraq and support its awakening and domestic unity view the restoration of fraternal and normal relations between the Iraqi Army and the Kurds in Northern Iraq with a warm welcome and large-scale support... The agreement is an indication of the policy of awareness adopted by the Iraqi rulers. It is also a manifestation of the confidence and love the Kurdish brethren have for their homeland and their willingness to unite and co-operate closely and fraternally with all Iraqis.

The conflict in Northern Iraq was a thorn in the side of the entire Iraqi people and the Arab world, which is seeking to unite its regions and peoples to confront its adversaries, foremost of which is the Zionist enemy...

The current agreement is a great achievement. It is welcomed and supported. It entrenches Iraq's cultural awakening. It is support for the Arab cause and struggle against the aggressor Israeli enemy, who has ambitions in Iraq as great as he has in Palestine to achieve his treacherous aims of establishing the so-called Kingdom of Israel extending from the Nile to the Euphrates...

Conspiracy in Southern Yemen

Aden home service in Arabic 17.30 GMT 11.3.70

Excerpts from report:

The newspaper '14th October' reports in a special edition this evening that the Council of Ministers held an emergency session this morning under the chairmanship of Brother Muhammad Ali Haytham, the Premier. The Council took a number of actions to meet the situation politically, militarily and at the national level.

Brother Muhammad Ali Haytham, the Premier, stated that the latest plot against the revolution aimed at staging large-scale acts of sabotage against the revolution and the Revolution command. The plotters [words indistinct] to blow up the Broadcasting House and the Presidential Residence and to arrest leading revolutionary elements in order to take over authority and terminate the revolutionary (?regime) in Southern Yemen.

The special edition ... reports that Brother Muhammad Salih Yafi'i has announced that the plot which the enemies of the revolution attempted to stage (?lately) aimed at terminating the revolutionary regime in Southern Yemen... The Minister of the Interior said that the documents seized in the possession of [word indistinct], following visits and contacts made lately with the reactionary Saudi officials, contained a complete plan to stage internal sabotage. The plan was drawn up by the agents of [word indistinct] intelligence bureau in (?conjunction) with reactionary Saudi authorities.

The Minister disclosed in his statement to '14th October' that (?the documents) seized in the possession of Salim Ali al-Kindi contained plans: (1) to stage acts of sabotage in all corners of the Republic and by cutting means of communication, to take over the people's (?properties) by enlisting elements in all parts of the country; (2) in order to perpetrate their criminal [word indistinct], the enemies of the revolution were equipped with grenades and arms. The revolution had laid its hands on their plots in their entirety. The Minister emphasised that the alertness of our revolutionary people had and would always track down all elements of sabotage, both internally and externally...

[Note: The radio said that Abdullah al-Amiri, Minister for Culture and Guidance, would hold a press conference on 12th March to explain the situation; that Muhammad Salih Awlaqi, a National Front Executive Committee member, had told "heads of all people's institutions" about the plot "prepared by anti-revolutionary forces led by the American imperialists and the Saudi reactionaries"; and that Abd al-Battah Isma'il had left for the Fourth Governorate to tell the people there about the latest developments. At 16.00 GMT on 12th March Aden radio said that a popular procession would be held on 13th March and that many messages condemning the plot had been received. Amman radio at 21.00 GMT on 10th March said that among those arrested in Southern Yemen was Salim Ali al-Kaladi, a former Governor of Hadramawt.]

The gist of the loud uproar was that the Rogers's proposals constituted a grave turn in the traditional US pro-Israeli attitude and a serious deviation in favour of the Arabs. The uproar grew daily. Then an intelligently-guided campaign began to reassure Israel. Scores of emissaries flew from Washington to Tel Aviv to try their best, as they claimed, to bring some measure of reassurance to Israel and tell it that the USA had not turned its back on it.

But Israel is afraid, afraid, afraid and wanted practical evidence that US feelings had not changed, so President Nixon went to the meeting of Zionist organisations and reaffirmed his commitment to ensure Israel's military superiority.

However, Israel still remained afraid, afraid, afraid. So the US President announced at a press conference that he would decide on Israel's military and financial requests within 30 days. The period has ended and the President has actually decided to approve the requests in principle.

This has been the only practical outcome of events in the USA connected with the Middle East crisis since Rogers announced his proposals. This outcome was a topic for debate between a leading Arab statesman and a leading US politician who recently visited the area.

The leading Arab statesman said: "Let us suppose that the Rogers proposals embody all earthly virtues, though this is not correct. What has been the outcome? One thousand million dollars for Israel, 35 Phantoms, and 105 Skyhawks. Is this not so?"

The leading US politician said: "There was an opportunity, but you did not take it, while they did. Opportunities do not wait."

The Arab statesman said: "We must admit that you have made a big change in the logic and methods of political action. You have introduced the logic and method of lotteries into international action."

I am not sure whether the leading American politician fully understood the meaning of these words. The meaning, simply, is that the Arab nation is not prepared to accept this kind of cheap deception. Centuries have passed since the purchase of Manhattan for a few beads and a handful of gold sovereigns.

D. We now come to the fourth and last point Rogers played on the African drums. He said that Kosygin's messages to Nixon, Wilson and Pompidou had transferred the Arab-Israeli conflict to the field of the cold war between the big Powers, that this is not in the interest of the Arabs and that Arab interests lie in keeping the conflict confined to the Arabs and Israel for the two sides to settle directly without intervention from the big Powers.

This point, which touches on an aspect of the Middle East crisis, is today causing repercussions in the crisis. Hence, it merits a separate article. It is a subject not suitable for playing on African drums because its tune may get out of hand at any time and cause another, but extremely dangerous, sound.

Mulla Mustafa Barzani's INA Statement

Baghdad home service in Arabic 19.00 GMT 13.3.70

Text of report:

The President of the Kurdish Democratic Party and leader of the Kurdish movement, Mulla Mustafa Barzani, made a statement to the Iraqi News Agency today on the most important national issues in the light of the historic 11th March 1970 statement of the Revolution Command Council on peace in our beloved homeland.

This is what has been revealed; undoubtedly there are many other things still undisclosed. After all this, can one say that US policy is impartial?

I wish I could disclose from the secret minutes of the Rabat summit conference the complete report by the Jordanian Foreign Minister Abd al-Mun'im ar-Rifa'i on his Washington trip. Rifa'i had gone to Washington with a message from King Husayn. He met President Nixon and talked about the Middle East crisis. Nixon expressed good feelings and asked Rifa'i to meet the Secretary of State, William Rogers the next day.

The Jordanian Minister, encouraged by Nixon's good words, called on the US Secretary of State. He explained his country's attitude and listed arguments pointing to dangers and risks. After talking for a full hour, the only answer Rifa'i got from William Rogers was: "What do you want me to do for you? There is one thing in which I can help you - to arrange for you to sit and talk to the Israelis."

Astounded, the Jordanian Foreign Minister told Rogers: "Sir, we could reach the negotiation table without your help, if we wanted that."

The meeting ended there... This meeting alone can refute the USA's allegedly impartial policy. By itself it can muffle all the echoes of the African drums.

C. Rogers said that he recently announced important proposals for a solution to the Middle East question and that Egypt had not shown any interest in them, thus causing him great embarrassment.

This particular point which Rogers played on the African drums reflects an unacceptable disregard for the Arab mind. Rogers, in dealing with the Arabs, is acting as though he wants to recall the story of the Red Indians from whom a number of white adventurers brought the island of Manhattan, on which New York now stands, for a few pieces of coloured glass and 65 gold sovereigns. This time, however, Rogers wants to buy the Arab destiny without even coloured beads or gold sovereigns. He wants to buy it with words.

I shall not debate Rogers's proposals in detail, but will only make a few remarks. These proposals are again based on splitting the Arab States on questions concerning the enemy:

The Arabs should accept border changes in favour of Israel - changes which Rogers says will not be substantial, but this term is elastic. According to Rogers's proposals, whatever the Arabs give should be given in advance, and whatever Israel gives will depend on what it agrees to during direct negotiations with the Arabs.

The Arabs should relinquish Arab sovereignty over Arab Jerusalem because, according to Rogers, Jerusalem should remain united with Jordan sharing the city's civil and religious life.

Egypt should finally relinquish its special responsibility in the Gaza Strip.

Egypt's international borders are indisputable, but Egypt is called upon to agree with Israel on special arrangements in Sharm ash-Shaykh to safeguard navigation in the Gulf of Aqabah.

Israel would have the right to pass through the Suez Canal without the need to wait for a solution of the Palestinian people's question.

Legal, practical peace should govern relations between the Arabs and Israel, and so forth.

However, more important than my opinion is what happened after Rogers made his proposals... Everything was like a well-planned comedy... As soon as Rogers announced his proposals, there was a loud and extensive uproar in all US Zionist circles and other circles reflecting Zionist influence - Congress, the press, radio, and television.

He said that the 11th March statement expressed the interests of the Iraqi people and the dear homeland. This statement would be implemented through the co-operation of the Ba'th Party, the Kurdish Democratic Party and all honest men in this homeland. Our homeland, he added, is one. The duty of implementing this statement falls on all Government and people. The implementation depends on the contributions of the Iraqis and the national forces.

Barzani denounced the imperialist circles' allegations that the Kurdish movement sought the establishment of an entity separate from Iraq. He said that separation had never been one of the aims of the Kurdish Democratic Party. We are seeking to offer a sincere service to the Iraqi people. We Arabs and Kurds are brothers in this beloved homeland. We will defend the unity of this homeland with our souls and blood. Barzani cited articles from the Kurdish Democratic Party's by-laws saying that Article 2 provides that the Party's aim is to secure autonomous rule for Iraqi Kurdistan within the framework of the Iraqi Republic and to struggle for the political and economic independence of Iraq with its Arabs and Kurds. From its beginning, the Kurds revolution has directed its activities against despotic dictatorial regimes. Never have we been insurgents or mutineers. We have always sought the good of the Arabs and Kurds of our homeland and people. He said that the Kurds would defend the 17th July revolution achievements, because they were loyal to the aims of the Iraqi people. Co-operation between the Kurdish Democratic Party and the Ba'th Party served the homeland.

Barzani praised the courage, firmness and wisdom of the Ba'th Party leaders. He said: These leaders are honest men who believe in the logic of reason and wisdom. Their only concern is the good of the Iraqi people. They defend the Iraqi people's interest sincerely.

He denounced the recent imperialist reactionary plot against the Iraqi people. He said this reactionary plot sought to harm the interests of the Iraqi people and obstruct a peaceful solution of the Kurdish problem.

As to the Kurdish personality to be chosen to occupy the post of Iraqi Vice-president and the number of Kurdish Ministers to be included in the forthcoming Cabinet, Barzani said: The selection of the Kurdish candidate for the post of Vice-President will take place at the forthcoming conference which the Kurdish Democratic Party will hold early in June or at a meeting of the Party's Central Committee to be held before the conference.

As to the number of Kurdish Ministers to take part in the new Government, Barzani said, I believe it will be five or six. Neither the number of Ministers nor their names have yet been decided upon, he added.

Speaking of the Kurd's attitude to the Palestine armed struggle and Arab unity, Barzani said: We are with the fraternal Arab people who are fighting to recover their usurped rights. As to Iraq's participating in any Arab unity, he added, the Kurdish people fully support any Arab unity which guarantees the interests of the Kurds within the framework of their national unity with the Iraqi people.

In conclusion, Barzani reiterated the Kurd's adherence to the unity of Iraqi soil and their devotion to Iraq's progress and independence.

Libyan Comment on the Evacuation of British Forces

Libyan Radio in Arabic 13.00 GMT 13.3.70

Excerpt from commentary:

The evacuation of British forces from Libya - an important achievement of the revolution - will be completed on 31st March when Libya will witness mammoth celebrations to mark the occasion. The last British soldier will then have left Libya. The general feeling will then be that a heavy burden has been lifted off our people's back and that our people are no longer fettered with the subservience that burdened them throughout the black royal regime which ruled the people with the strength of foreigners and with steel and fire imported from beyond the border.

While speaking of this occasion, we say the following: This evacuation will in no way bar the establishment of friendly relations with the British people. On the contrary, the opportunity provided by the evacuation will enable us to deal on an equal footing. We will deal as free men liberated from bonds, able to set up strong relations with others within the framework of national sovereignty and mutual respect...

Cairo Radio on British Policy towards the Arabs

Cairo home service in Arabic 05.00 GMT 14.3.70

Text of item from "Listeners' Letters":

The listeners Hamdi Muhammad Abd ar-Raziq and Rashad Abd al-Halim ask: What is the present position regarding Britain, which feigns friendship for the Arabs while supplying Israel with arms and was the author of the ominous Balfour Declaration, with which it caused the problem?

The chief editor of the magazine 'Al-Ishtiraki', Sami Dawud, answers this question: International politics require, more than anything else, a measure of flexibility and quick manoeuvring ability for the purpose of winning the largest number of friends and reducing the number of enemies or, at least, preventing the latter from directly and completely aligning themselves with our real enemy.

However, we cannot ignore history and the events of the past regarding the relationship between one State and another. We must remember that international politics do not admit of permanent friendships or enmities: there are only permanent interests.

It is true that Britain issued the Balfour Declaration and played a major part in adopting and strengthening the Zionist movement and in establishing the Zionist entity. It is also true that it continues to supply Israel with arms although it was the author of the UN Security Council resolution. All this makes our relationship with Britain an uneasy matter.

It is not in our interests to adopt an inflexible attitude. It is in our interest, however, to make Britain, or any other State for that matter, understand that it cannot play a double game with us. It should also understand that its bias towards the enemy will cost it dearly. It is important that this should be accomplished by deed and not with mere words alone.

Cairo Radio on the Muslims in Britain

Cairo "Voice of the Arabs" in Arabic ("Viewpoint") 13.15 GMT 13.3.70

Excerpt from report:

[Voice of announcer]: Brethren: ... Today we meet Dr. Sayyid Aziz Basha, Secretary General of the Preparatory Committee for the Muslim Federation in Britain and Ireland.

[Voice of Basha]: ... All Muslims in Britain believe that the Israeli-Zionist aggression against the Arab and Islamic nation is really an aggression against all Muslims throughout the world. The Israeli aggressors must, therefore, withdraw immediately and unconditionally from the Arab and Islamic territories which they occupied. I believe that Muslims everywhere must play their full part in removing this aggression. The Muslims in Britain are fulfilling their role in support of their Arab and Muslim brothers and their cause. They have collected contributions in the mosques and Islamic cultural centres to help the Palestine fida'i organisations to continue their struggle against the aggression, and towards removing it and liberating their homeland. They are also fulfilling their role in acquainting the British public with the Arab and

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Iraq's chance for lasting peace

IT WOULD be premature to assume that the settlement reached last week between the Iraqi Government and the Kurds under Mullah Mustafa Barzani will bring an enduring peace. Since the fighting broke out in the northern region of the country in 1961, there have been three ceasefires and intermittent parleys. But at least a formal agreement has been made for the first time. Moreover, its provisions, and the problems of the Government, are such that the prospects of an enduring solution look good — so long as the doctrinaire and cliqueish Baathists in Baghdad fulfil the spirit, as well as the letter, of the pact.

Notable victory

The Iraqi Kurds numbering some 1½m. have won a notable victory by gaining recognition of their autonomy and their right to maintain their own militia. On the Kurdish side the continued existence of the irregular forces which have tied down the better half of the Iraqi Army for over eight years is seen as a necessary guarantee for the settlement.

The two main problems of implementation concern the delineation of the autonomous area and the form of representation the Kurdish Democratic Party will have in the Government. In the recent talks the Kurds have been adamant that Kirkuk, Iraq's main oil producing area, is part of their traditional territory and should be formally under their administration. The proposed census under the supervision of a UN expert will not necessarily solve this issue because the Kurds claim that in 1963 the Baathist Government's short-lived predecessor destroyed their villages and settled Arabs in their place.

Participation in Government will not prove easy to achieve, given the Baathists' reluctance to share power. However, since the coup in 1967 Cabinet seats

have been kept vacant for Kurds and recently the ruling party has made a move to broaden its base by including other left-wing elements including Communists in the Government. It appears that Baghdad is even prepared for some kind of representative body in response to the Kurdish demand for elections. But it remains to be seen whether any Kurds can be integrated into the Revolutionary Command Council, the secretive body which dictates policy.

Growth retarded

One does not have to look for any altruism within this RCC to explain why a settlement was sought. The war against the Kurds has been unpopular in Southern Iraq where the Baathist regime itself badly needs more support. The conflict has seriously retarded the economic development of Iraq which, with its considerable resources, should have been one of the most dynamic of the Arab countries but has instead been relatively stagnant. Lastly, the war has prevented Iraq from throwing its full weight into confrontation against Israel and from giving substance to its belligerent intent. A diversion of Iraqi military resources to the Jordan is likely to increase tension in the Middle East and may therefore be seen as the one regrettable side effect of the settlement.

Even if the Iraqi agreement passes the test of time, the problem of the 10m.-strong Kurdish people as a whole will not be solved. The revolt in Iraq broke out largely because they had long been recognised there as a distinct ethnic minority. This has not been so in Turkey where their culture is suppressed, in Syria where the rival Baathist regime is attempting to "Arabise" them, or in Iran where they are treated as just another Persian tribe.

Mr. M. M. M. 12/3
Mr. L. L. L. 16/3

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NEQ 1/2 (42)
P. 2. 11/11A. THE ARAB WORLD AND ISRAELThe Iraqi-Kurdish Settlement(a) Baghdad home service in Arabic 15.00 and 17.00 GMT 14.3.7015.00 GMT: Excerpts from report of interview with Saddam Husayn (at-Tikriti):

... In an interview with the Iraqi News Agency today, Comrade Saddam Husayn, Deputy Secretary of the Ba'th Party's Regional Command and Deputy Chairman of the Revolution Command Council, said: We are determined to implement the historic statement on the solution of the Kurdish problem as soon as possible to demonstrate our good intentions towards our Kurdish people and to frustrate the imperialist attempts to divide the Arabs from their Kurdish brothers...

He added that the Governorates Law would be reviewed to bring it into line with the statement, particularly with regard to the northern provinces...

Referring to the term "legislative authority" [in the statement], Saddam Husayn said it meant a national assembly of representatives. Powers would be vested in the assembly, in which the Kurds would participate in a just proportion in order to help in building the homeland and drafting legislation...

He added: Because conditions were not normal in the North, the revolution could not apply Agrarian reform there in a revolutionary radical manner, or develop industry. The revolution and all progressive Arabs and Kurds will therefore pay special attention to the application of socialism in order to speed up the implementation of agrarian reform and a review of systems appropriate to the conditions of the area, thereby strengthening the peasants' control of land and eliminating feudalism.

Comrade Saddam Husayn said that the number of Kurdish Ministers who would take part in the new Cabinet was not raised during the dialogue between the Ba'th and Kurdistan Democratic Parties. He added: We regard this and similar issues as secondary compared with the psychological and mental understanding, and the determination to build new relations on an objective scientific basis. For our part, what is important is that in its general structure the executive power should consist of revolutionary progressive elements who will serve the country's interests and socialist course. Whether the Ministers are all Kurds or all Arabs is not of great consequence to us. The Kurds will participate in a just proportion in the executive power.

As for the peshmargas, Comrade Saddam Husayn said: Certain conditions made the peshmargas direct their fire at other than the common enemy. Now we consider them part of our Armed Forces - our true forces in the fight against imperialism. As Brother Mahmud Uthman [of the Kurdistan Democratic Party] has said, the peshmargas will from now on direct their fire at the common enemy. We wish to maintain the largest possible number of peshmargas to turn them into a genuine revolutionary force and train and organise them in a manner which will serve the interests of the homeland.

In conclusion, Comrade Saddam Husayn said that some well-known foreign newspapers and radios would definitely try, now that one big hope of reaction had been frustrated, to prevent Iraq from assuming its liberation duties in the area and implementing its progressive programme for the development of the economy in a manner serving the interests of all the people. These radios and reactionaries and agents would try to belittle the peaceful solution by every means and by biased propaganda methods. However, our people would be alert to them.

17.00 GMT: Text of report of statement by Dr. George Habash:

The Secretary General of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Dr. George Habash, has described the solution of the Kurdish problem in northern Iraq as a decisive blow against Zionism, imperialism and reaction and their plans. In a statement published in Amman today, Habash said that the Front looked forward to the steady implementation of the agreement on the Kurdish problem so that all the Iraqi people's resources would be devoted to supporting the Arab and Palestinian masses' armed struggle against the Zionist enemy and imperialism to recover Palestine and the usurped Arab soil.

(b) "Voice of Iraqi Kurdistan" in Arabic 16.00 GMT 14.3.70

(i) Excerpts from cable dated 14th March from Politburo of Kurdistan Democratic Party to its First, Second, Third and Fourth branches:

... In view of the peace statement and the new conditions, please omit slogans Nos. 9, 10 and 12 of the Arabic and Kurdish slogans approved for Now Ruz and add the following slogans: ... Our Kurdish people and Kurdistan Democratic Party are a firm support of the legitimate rights of our brother Turkmens, Assyrians, and other minorities in Kurdistan...

(ii) Excerpts from commentary:

To the Kurdistan people, to all our brother [words indistinct] wherever they are, and to Kurdistan Democratic Party members and candidate members ... your national duty requires that you work for peace as you fought hard in war. In the past you struggled to regain your rights. Today and in the future you must struggle to consolidate your rights. Yours is a struggle against warmongers, agents, corrupters, opportunists and all who work to undermine the agreement and disturb Arab-Kurdish fraternal relations.

The nature of things demands that we change our way of thinking and acting. Yesterday we dealt severely with our enemies. Today we must fill our hearts with forgiveness, tolerance and love. We must not allow ourselves to be drawn by revenge and feuds left over from war.

Now that we have triumphed over the enemies of the Arab and Kurdish peoples, we must show the qualities of victors - tolerance and strength of character. We must prove to our people's enemies that we are loyal servants of our people...

We wish to make the following recommendations to you:

(1) It is imperative that the Kurdish masses co-operate with the Party, the authorities and the revolution to consolidate peace and stability and expose the opportunists, corrupters and disturbers of peace. In so doing you must be armed with complete neutrality and avoid bias or prejudice. All must obey the Party and the authorities in the interest of consolidation of the provisions of the agreement. All must have pure hearts, discard rancour and old feuds, and open new chapters. All must pardon past deeds.

(2) We ask the peshmargas, Party members and candidate members, and Party officials in authority not to assume powers or take the law into their own hands. It is the legitimate authorities who will decide matters. The return of good relations and peace depends to a great extent on the actions of the officials in authority among you. You must co-operate with the authorities in implementing the agreement. You must remove the obstacles by which others, wittingly or unwittingly, try to prevent the implementation of the 11th March statement.

(3) Never try to regain your rights by our own hands. You must let the citizens contact the authorities regarding their rights. Nobody must [word indistinct] upon another or seize his property for his own benefit or the benefit of someone else. Anyone who commits such acts will be severely punished, whoever he may be. Everybody must inform the authorities about anyone who tries to do harm or disturb the peace so that he may be punished. The authorities must be informed of all acts of oppression, guided in this by justice and with prejudice.

Finally, we hope all will live up to the expectations of the Revolution Command and the Party, and will prove by their actions - as they have in the past - that they are heroes of peace. We hope these instructions will be sincerely carried out, so that we shall be spared side battles and secondary differences to devote ourselves to tackling our great tasks of building a firm peace under the aegis of the autonomous rule of our brave people, under the leadership of Mustafa Barzani, our commander and the President of our Party, and with the co-operation of the national authority, the Ba'th Party, and the other national forces.

(c) "Voice of Fatah" in Arabic 18.30 GMT 14.3.70

Text of broadcast:

Strugglers of our great people, an agreement was reached recently between the Government of fraternal Iraq and our brother Kurds. All the Arab masses have welcomed this agreement because they see only good in it. They see it as a good sign that the guns will be turned in the right direction. However, the enemy press and propaganda media have begun a violent, concentrated campaign against it, casting doubt on the agreement. This is no surprise, because the enemy knows the agreement means that the guns will be pointed in the right direction - at the heart of the enemy who threatens all of us, Arabs and Kurds alike. The enemy also knows that such an agreement will stop the squandering of resources on secondary and peripheral issues remote from the main battle against the Zionist danger. All our masses, who have welcomed this agreement and seen in it a sign of good hope, are strongly confident that our brother Kurds now have nothing to prevent them from bearing arms and following the course of struggle against the Zionist base.

"Voice of Fatah" on US Support for Israel

"Voice of Fatah" in Arabic 18.30 GMT 14.3.70

Excerpts from talk:

Masses of our glorious Arab nation, since 1948 and for more than 20 years US imperialism has been strengthening the Zionist existence by giving economic aid, financial loans, arms, experts and even soldiers to fight on the side of the enemy. What does this US attitude mean?

(1) US imperialism recognises the importance of having a forward base in the Middle East to play the part of the policeman who will protect and defend US imperialist interests.

(2) US imperialism is feeling the revolutionary evolution towards eliminating every trace of exploitation and repression which has begun in the Arab sphere. US imperialism has sensed the need for a strong striking force equipped with US arms to curb the revolutionary evolution.

(3) The Zionist base in the Middle East constitutes an alliance and complete harmony in joint and reciprocal interests between Zionism and US imperialism...

(4) What US imperialism wanted to achieve through the presence of the Zionist base has in fact been accomplished...

Our struggling masses, the Zionist base is now trying a tactical manoeuvre: to portray US imperialism as hesitant to supply the Zionists with more Phantoms. But the Zionist allegation is rebutted by Washington's official statements, which are as follows: The US commitment to back the Zionist entity must be respected. Furthermore, there is a US commitment in principle to maintain Zionist defence capabilities which are left to Nixon to assess.

This reveals the true nature of the manoeuvre and the total US hostility to our revolution and masses. The true nature of the close links between US and Zionist interests thus becomes clear. This hostility must be dealt with by a decisive revolutionary reply which will eradicate every trace of imperialist-Zionist existence in our Arab land.

Yasir Arafat's Meeting with IATA Director General

"Voice of Fatah" in Arabic 18.35 GMT 14.3.70

Text of broadcast:

Brothers, the Director General of the International Air Transport Association (IATA), Hammarskjold, met Abu Ammar [Yasir Arafat], Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation Executive Committee for an hour today. During the meeting, Brother Abu Ammar stressed that the revolutionaries were not responsible for the two Swiss and Austrian aircraft incidents. He also confirmed that the revolution was always careful not to endanger civilians. Abu Ammar declared that the responsibility for endangering civilians fell on those who made civilian transport aircraft a military target by sending military equipment on regular flights. Abu Ammar also declared that the IATA could make efforts to protect these civilians.

Complaints of Press Campaign against the Palestine "Revolution"

(a) "Voice of Palestine" in Arabic 17.30 GMT 14.3.70

Text of report of statement by a PLO spokesman:

Commenting on the tendentious press campaign, which is intended to fill the public mind with analyses, commentaries and explanations on subjects which are not in the interest of the Palestine revolution, an official spokesman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation has said:

This campaign seeks to distort the features of the Palestine revolution and to confuse the minds of Arab citizens and their view of the revolution. This is part of an anti-revolution plan in which certain political quarters and mercenary journalists are taking part.

The spokesman added that many of the subjects the press was now discussing were remote from the basic issues of this phase of the revolution and were intended to weaken the stand of the masses and to prevent them from dealing with the urgent, basic questions of this phase. Foremost among these questions were the surrender solutions, the concentration on certain negative points, and the suspicious overlooking of all the positive aspects of the Palestine revolution. This distortion, which certain persons were practising, obliterate the positive aspects and the many very effective achievements of the Palestine revolution.

The spokesman emphasised that the Palestine revolution, which had clearly mapped its course and defined its aims even in the atmosphere of repression, collapse and despair, would not permit anyone to think for it or to make analyses or issue conclusions on its behalf. The revolution was quite capable of defining, explaining and analysing what it wanted. The revolution would express its requirements and slogans at the proper time in accordance with the requirements of the phase and the interests of the revolution.

(b) "Voice of Fatah" in Arabic 18.30 GMT 14.3.70

(i) Text of complaint about Kuwaiti 'As-Siyasah' article:

The Kuwaiti newspaper 'As-Siyasah' has published a translation of an article published in the magazine 'Jeune Afrique' which the magazine claims to have taken from an article on the Palestine democratic State published in the Palestinian 'Ath-Thawrah' magazine.

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(TODAY'S MAIN NEWS AND TRENDS)
(From Today's Latest News & Reports)

Kurds, Iraq

THE "END" OF THE KURDISH PROBLEM IN IRAQ

1. Declaration by Revolution Command Council, read by President Bakr, gives Kurds "autonomy."
2. Barzani's cable declares full support to statement.
3. Iraqi Army's support voiced in cable from Defense Minister to Bakr.
4. Iraqi Communist Party's cable of support broadcast by BAGHDAD RADIO.
5. Arabs and Kurds to stage demonstration in Baghdad today to mark the "Day of Peace."

Following are the details:

"END" OF KURDISH PROBLEM. The 9-year-old Kurdish war in northern Iraq has ended, and the "Kurdish Question" has been solved for good.

This was the gist of a declaration made in Baghdad last night, which for the first time in the history of the Kurdish problem in Iraq used the term "autonomy" in its recognition of the rights of the Kurdish people to have self-government in areas where they form a majority in the northern parts of the country.

The "Declaration", issued in behalf of Iraq's Revolution Command Council (RCC), the country's highest executive authority, was broadcast on Baghdad radio and television, and the Kurdish Radio, by President Ahmed Hassan Al Bakr. "A new page in the history of Iraq has been turned", the President said. The announcer who introduced the President to the radio and television audience, said: "A stronghold of Arab-Kurdish brotherhood has been built." Later, RADIO BAGHDAD, in re-broadcasting Bakr's speech, termed it "history-making."

Also, "historic" was the word used by Dr Mahmoud Osman, the Secretary General of the Kurdish Democratic Party (K.

Thursday, March 12th, 1970
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*Merchants here call off strike as Cabinet decides to have law revised; Makassed issue also tackled, Page 5.

*Details of Heikal's interview, in which he talked about need for better ties with Bonn, on Pages 7&8.

* * *

EGYPTIAN COMMANDO GROUP RESUMES ACTIVITY. The Egyptian commando organization, the Arab Sinai Organization (ASO), appears to have been reactivated. Radio Cairo reported yesterday an operation carried out by ASO in Sinai Monday night. (There has been no news of ASO for several months now. Its reactivation could be due to what appears to be a de-escalation of operations in the Canal area by the regular forces following reports that Dr Jarring may be resuming his mission).

CIVIL DEFENSE IN UAR. The subject of civil defense in the UAR was widely discussed by the UAR National Assembly, which called for more adequate civil defense measures in densely populated areas, according to Cairo newspapers today. The announcement was made that the Government has allocated more than 2 million Egyptian pounds to strength civil defense throughout Egypt.

LIBYAN OIL MINISTER ENDS MOSCOW VISIT. Mr Ezziddin Al Mabrouk, the Libyan Minister of Oil, yesterday left Moscow for home at the end of a three-day visit during which he met with Soviet economic and oil officials, according to the LIBYAN NEWS AGENCY.

THE NEWS, ITS IMPACT, AT ONCE!

The Arab World is a daily publication especially conceived for diplomats, businessmen, foreign correspondents and scholars who require objective, accurate and speedy information on the area. It consists of a clear summary of the main news and comments, as digested from the Beirut newspapers of the same day and other Middle East news media of the previous 24 hours. The Arab World is delivered by special messengers at the subscribers' address in Beirut around 10 a.m. every morning. THE ARAB WORLD WEEKLY presents an impartial picture of the events, with a special analytical effort to make the reader understand the complex political, economic and social developments of the Middle East area. For subscriptions, please apply to Manager.

Today's Main News And Trends, Cont'd

D.P.), when he read on Baghdad television, the cable sent to President Bakr by Mulla Mustafa Barzani, the leader of the Kurdish revolution and President of the KDP, proclaiming the Kurds' full adherence to the "Declaration."

Earlier in the day, Mr Sidam Hussein Takriti, Vice Chairman of the RCC and Assistant Secretary General of the National (Iraqi) Leadership of the ruling Baath Party and the man who led the Iraqi side to the talks with Barzani, declared in a recorded statement broadcast by BAGHDAD RADIO, that the agreement reached with the Kurds "is not a mere truce or ceasefire", but that it "establishes Arab-Kurdish brotherhood for good." The official IRAQ NEWS AGENCY, which also reported Mr Takriti's statement, said that he had just returned from the northern areas. This revealed that the conclusion of the agreement must have taken place Tuesday night at Barzani's headquarters at Rawanduz, not far from the Iranian border.

The Kurdish war has been going on and off since 1961. The fighting started under the regime of former Premier Lt-General Abdel Kerim Kassem, who was overthrown and executed in February, 1963, when the Baath Party seized power for the first time.

Barzani's Support. In his cable, Barzani said: "We declare our full commitment to work with the Baath Party and with the national government in implementation of the provisions of the Declaration both in letter and spirit, in preservation of the interests of the Iraqi people. We shall do everything possible to overcome the bitter past..."

Army's Support. BAGHDAD RADIO and television also broadcast a cable of support to President Bakr and members of the RCC from Lt-General Hardan Abdel Ghaffar Takriti, in his capacity as Defense Minister and Deputy Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces. The cable was obviously meant to indicate the support of the Iraqi armed forces to the agreement with the Kurds. This is important because it is the army that has been fighting the Kurdish insurgents.

Communist Support. The RADIO, moreover, broadcast a cable of support from the Central Committee of the pro-Soviet Iraqi Communist Party. The cable was signed by Aziz Mohammed, who was described as the First Secretary of the Central Committee. It declared that the Communist Party will do everything within its ability to help in implementation of the agreement with the Kurds. (It will be recalled that there had been speculations that the Communists had played a mediatory role in arranging for the contacts between the Government and the insurgents. Aziz Sharif, an independent Communist and head of the Iraqi Peace Partisan Movement now the Minister of Justice, was reported to have undertaken such a role).

"Peace Day." President Bakr at end of his speech proclaimed a three-day holiday, from today until Saturday, on occasion of the agreement with the Kurds. RADIO BAGHDAD this morning said that today, Thursday, March 12th, has been proclaimed "Peace Day" -- peace between Arabs and Kurds. The radio also announced that an Arab-Kurdish demonstration will be staged in Baghdad today to mark the occasion.

THE AGREEMENT. Officially, the measures announced yesterday for solving the Kurdish problem are not called agreement, but a "Declaration" by the RCC to carry out a number of steps that would provide the Kurds with self-government in areas in the north where they form a major

Today's Main News And Trends, Cont'd

city. Yesterday's "Declaration" gives the Kurds better advantages than the "Declaration" issued in June, 1966, by former Premier Dr Abdel Rahman Al Bazzaz. Although the Bazzaz Declaration recognized the national rights of the Kurds, it did not go as far as to give them "autonomy", which the new declaration has done within the Iraqi Republic. Also, yesterday's Declaration, unlike the 1966 statement, appointed a Vice President for the Kurds, which has been a constant demand by the Kurdish nationalist movement.

Key Provisions. Articles 14 and 4 are the key provisions in the Declaration. Article 14 said:

"After this Declaration has been made, the necessary measures shall be taken, in cooperation with the Higher Committee charged with implementation of the Declaration, to unify the Muhafazats (Districts) and administrative units where Kurds form a majority in accordance to official statistics to be taken. The State shall seek to develop these administrative units to enable the Kurdish people exercise their full national rights and ensure that they enjoy autonomy. Until this administrative unity is fulfilled, coordination of the Kurdish national affairs will be undertaken at regular meetings between the Higher Committee and Governors in the north.

"Since the autonomy will be within the framework of the Iraqi Republic, the exploitation of the natural resources in this area is the responsibility of the authorities of this Republic."

Article 4 said: "Civil servants in administrative units where the Kurds form a majority will be Kurds; if the necessary number is not available, the civil servants (will be chosen) from those who are fluent in the Kurdish language. This covers the basic responsibilities such as the Governor, the Qaimaqam (deputy governor), the director of police and security."

These two articles in effect define the Kurdish autonomy in Iraq. The areas in the north where the Kurds form a majority will become one administrative unit run by the Kurds themselves, as provided in Article 4.

It will be recalled that some reports earlier said that defining the Kurdish area was the reason which delayed the conclusion of the agreement, which was originally scheduled for announcement last February 8th, the anniversary of the first Baathist take-over in Iraq. The reports said that the Kurds insisted that the oil-rich Kirkuk area should be included in the Kurdish boundaries. The government negotiators contested this, and provided statistics to show that the Kurds only form one third of the Kirkuk population, and the Arabs and Turcomans the remaining two-thirds. The Kurds were reported to have rejected the "official statistics" presented by the Government. The Government negotiators were also concerned because of the fact that the country's main oil fields are located in Kirkuk.

Article 14 suggested that the problem has been solved as follows: the Baghdad Government would continue to be in charge of the oil matters in the area; a census of the population will be taken, and on its results the two sides will decide the districts where the Kurds form a majority. It is also to be noted that Article 8 of the Declaration provided for the repatriation of Kurdish and Arab families that were forced out of the northern areas to their original villages. The Kurds maintain that a large number of Kurds were evicted from the Kirkuk district by the Baathists themselves during the 1963 offensive.

It is to be noted also, as mentioned in article 14, that a "Higher Committee" has been formed to supervise the implementation of this declaration. Members of the Committee have not been identified, but it would appear that they represent both the Government and the Kurds.

Other Provisions. Article 10 said that the Provisional Constitution, issued by the Baathist regime after coming to power in 1968, will be revised to state that the Iraqi people "are formed

Today's Main News And Trends, Cont'd

of two nationalities, Arab and Kurdish", and that the Kurdish language is an official language along with Arabic in areas where the Kurds form a majority. Article 12 said that "one of the Vice Presidents (of the Republic) will be Kurdish."

Article 13 said that the Local Administration Law, issued by the Baathists last year, will be revised to conform with this Declaration. The Declaration made provisions for the future legislature. Article 15 said that the Kurdish people will be represented in the "legislature" in proportion of their number to the total number of the Iraqi people. (Kurds in Iraq are believed to be about 1.5 million, out of Iraq's total population of about 9 million).

Article 11 provided that the Kurdish insurgents will hand over to the Government their clandestine radio station, and the heavy arms in their possession, this, however, to be done during the last stage of implementation of the provisions of the Declaration. This meant that the Kurds would do this only after the provisions have been carried out. It is to be noted that the reference was only to "heavy arms", and no mention was made of lighter arms the Kurds have. This suggested that the Kurds will not disarm altogether. Nor was there a mention of the future of the "Pesh Mergha", Barzani's 20,000-man irregular army. There had been speculations that the Kurdish irregular army would be the "National Guard" in the Kurdish areas

(In exchange for giving up their radio station, the Kurds are expected to be allowed to re-publish their Arabic daily, AL TAAKHI, in Baghdad. This paper was suspended late in 1968, when the conflict between the insurgents and the Baathist regime set in.

(All this, plus the fact that there was no mention of the future of the Pesh Mergha, or how soon a legislature will be elected, suggested that there may be secret provisions in the Kurdish-Government agreement. Informed sources earlier this month said that the Baathists have promised to hold general elections within 2 years, and that until this happens, a provisional legislature of 50 members will be formed, of 25 Baathists, and 25 other elements, including Kurds, Communists, Nasserists and other leftists).

Culture, Development, Compensation. The rest of the articles in the Declaration pertained to promotion of Kurdish culture and schools, payment of compensation to Kurds who were injured or whose property was destroyed during the fighting, and to amnesty. All civilians and military men who had to leave their jobs because of the fighting in the north will be reinstated regardless of the laws currently in effect. The Agrarian reform law will be applied in the Kurdish areas in order to end feudalism and so that all farmers will be allotted adequate lots of land.

Significance. There has yet been no editorial comment in the Arab press on the Kurdish settlement. The news was widely covered by the press and the radio. The Syrian information media, run by the rival Baathist faction, reported the news without comment.

(If permanent, the settlement of the Kurdish problem brings fundamental change in the status of the country. For the past nine years, the Kurdish war has been almost the main Iraqi pre-occupation, taxing the country's ability to develop the economy and take a more effective role in confronting the Israeli enemy. The immediate effect of the Kurdish settlement is expected, however, to be self-assurance in Baghdad regarding its current confrontation with Persia. The Kurds, who depended in the past on Iranian backing and assistance, have now become an asset and not a liability for Baghdad. In fact, giving the Iraqi Kurds autonomy could give the 4 million Kurds in Persia some ideas, a matter which spells trouble for the Iranian regime.

(The point President Bakr and Barzani made is that Iraq now can concentrate its efforts on confronting the serious danger facing the Arabs in Israel and those behind her. Barzani declared in his cable: "I emphasize on this historic occasion the support of the Kurdish people to the struggle now waged by the Arab nation against its enemies...")

Today's Main News And Trends, Cont'dP. M. M. M.
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Heikal also said in this connection, that U.S. artificial satellites have been undertaking espionage over Egyptian territory.

The Cairo editor also challenged Rogers' statement that the U.S. was following a balanced policy in the Middle East. He referred to supply of U.S. arms to Israel, and the continuous U.S. backing to the Jewish state. (Cairo's ROSE AL YOUSSEF reported this week that when Rogers told Tito that the U.S. was following a balanced policy in the Middle East, the Yugoslav leader said: "You can prove this only if you would give me 50 Phantom fighter planes so I may turn them over to President Nasser." Tito was referring to the delivery of 50 Phantoms to Israel by the U.S. last year).

THE LATEST ON KURDISH SETTLEMENT: VICE
PRESIDENT IN AGREEMENT BETWEEN BAATH
AND K.D.P.; KURDS TO HAVE FIVE MINISTERS

Iraq,
Kurds

The main news on the Kurdish settlement in Iraq (see also Pages 11&12) is the following:

-Dr Mahmoud Osman, Secretary General of the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP), was quoted by RADIO BAGHDAD this morning as declaring that the appointment of the Kurdish Vice President as provided under the March 11th Declaration, will be by agreement between the KDP and the ruling Baath Party. Asked about the time limit for the fulfillment of the provisions of the agreement, he said that the time limit was not impossible, now that the agreement on the principles have been reached. Dr Osman, who also led the Kurdish negotiating team to the talks which brought about the agreement, added that talks were now underway to establish a "national front" of the KDP, the Baath Party and other progressive elements in Iraq (presumably the Communist Party, which has officially announced in a cable to President Ahmed Hassan Al Bakr its intention to exercise its good offices to bring about the full implementation of the Kurdish declaration -- see our bulletin yesterday). Dr Osman was also quoted by newspapers as saying that the Kurdish leader, Mulla Mustafa Barzani, will soon visit Baghdad to meet with President Al Bakr.

-In a special dispatch from Baghdad, AL ANWAR, pro-UAR and pro-Iraq, quoted Dr Osman as explaining the form of Kurdish autonomy as follows: There will be central and local authorities. Defense, Foreign Affairs, Finance and Presidential affairs will be in the hands of the central government in Baghdad. Agricultural, educational, municipal and housing matters will be in the hands of the "local authorities" (meaning the Kurdish authorities). He was quoted as adding: "The Kurdish autonomy will be within the Iraqi people, the Iraqi Republic and the unity of Iraqi soil; we reject any formula that goes beyond this." Dr Osman was also quoted by the paper as declaring that the number of Kurds in the Cabinet will be 5.

Speeches. Dr Osman addressed the large crowds which demonstrated in Baghdad to celebrate "Arab-Kurdish Peace." He delivered his address, after President Al Bakr finished delivering his. When Dr Osman finished announcing, in Barzani's name, that the Kurds stood firmly on side of their Arab brothers in the confrontation of the common enemy, Israel, President Bakr asked him to repeat this. Dr Osman did, to the cheers of the crowds. The occasion was broadcast live by RADIO BAGHDAD.

In his speech, President Bakr declared that Iraq now will devote its efforts and energies to fighting the Arab enemies.

(SPECIAL REPORTS)**KURDISH AGREEMENT IN IRAQ SAID TO HAVE SECRET PROVISIONS; CENSUS MAY BE UNDER UN SUPERVISION**Kurds,
Iraq

There are secret provisions in the agreement reached between the Iraqi Government and the Kurdish insurgents under Mulla Mustafa Barzani, informed travellers from Baghdad have said, and added that the provisions were not expected to be made public at present.

One of these provisions pertains to future stationing and movement of Iraqi troops in the Kurdish area. The travellers said that the Iraqi Government had already withdrawn a token force from the north to demonstrate its good faith. More are to be withdrawn later. In future, only a token force would be kept up north, but a garrison will be maintained at Kirkuk to guard the oil fields and the oil installations. Future movement of troops in the northern parts for security reasons will require the advance approval of the Kurds, they said.

At the military level also, the Kurds will retain 12,000 men of the "Pesh Mergha", their irregular army, as "national guard" or "border guard", the travellers said, and assumed that the rest of the members of the Pesh Mergha, said to total about 20,000, will be disbanded. The Government, in exchange, will disband the "Saladdin Horsemen", the irregulars the army had recruited from anti-Barzani Kurdish tribes to fight the insurgents. The Barzanists refer to them as the "Josh", which means, in Arabic, "a small donkey." Also, the Government, according to these travellers, will drop completely the anti-Barzani faction of Jalal Talabani, who, they said, used to be given a monthly subsidy of about 50,000 dinars to keep up the fighting against the Barzanists. Part of this money also went to pay for keeping Talabani's AL NOUR, published in Baghdad in Arabic, in circulation.

Authority In Hands of "Higher Commission." According to the same sources, the "Higher Commission", mentioned in the Declaration Wednesday (see our bulletin yesterday) as the body supervising the implementation of the agreement, is now the highest authority in Northern Iraq. It is said to be formed fully of Kurds, chosen by Barzani and his followers.

It will be this commission which will appoint the Kurdish civil servants in the Kurdish areas where the Kurds will exercise their autonomy. These areas are to be joined in one administrative unit as soon as a census of the population in the north is taken to determine where the Kurds form a majority. This has been provided for under the Declaration issued in behalf of the Revolution Command Council and announced by President Ahmed Hassan Al Bakr.

UN Supervision. The sources said that the Iraqi Government has already sent a letter to the U.N. asking for a "statistics expert" to supervise the projected census in northern Iraq. It would appear that this has been made at the request of the Kurds, as the UN "observer" will see to it that the census will be correct and impartial.

This is an important matter, because the Kurds do not admit the Iraqi Government's own official statistics. Reports had said that an extensive discussion took place on the subject between Kurdish and Government negotiators when the Kurds asked that Kirkuk be included in the area where the Kurds will establish their autonomy.

Kurdish Vice President. The travellers said that the Kurdish Vice President to be appoint-

SPECIAL REPORTS, Cont'dKurds, Iraq

ed under the agreement, will be one of the following three: Idris Barzani, eldest son of Mulla Mustafa; Fuad Arif, a former Minister; and Dr Mahmoud Osman, the Secretary General of the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) and the man who led the Kurdish team during the negotiations in Baghdad.

Mulla Mustafa himself was said to be not interested in the post, and that he will probably become the head of the Executive Council which is expected to be formed once the boundaries of the Kurdish administrative unit have been decided. Mulla Mustafa, furthermore, was said to be reluctant to have his son become the Vice President, and his favourite was believed to be Dr Osman.

Dr Osman was the man who read the cable from Barzani to Bakr supporting the Declaration of the Kurdish settlement on Baghdad television the night the declaration was made. He also stood side by side with President Bakr on the balcony of the Presidential Palace in Baghdad yesterday cheering the large Arab and Kurdish crowds that demonstrated in support of the settlement. And for the first time ever, Barzani's name was cheered in Baghdad. This was when Dr Osman, in addressing the crowds, announced in Barzani's name the Kurds' full backing to the Arabs in the struggle against Israel and Zionism.

Soviet, British Pressure Reported. The travellers said that the Soviet Union and Britain had exercised pressure to bring about a settlement to the Kurdish problem, each for a different reason.

The Soviets, they explained, were known to have been sympathetic with the Kurds, and did not want the arms they were giving Iraq with which to fight Israel, to be used against the Kurdish people. They, the sources said, were also concerned over the growing hostility against Iraq from Iran, and maintained that the recent coup attempt to overthrow the Iraqi regime was carried out by Persia-backed right-wing elements known to be anti-Soviet and pro-American.

The sources were not quite sure as to the channels Britain had used for its pressure, but they said that British quarters were extremely worried when the Kurdish insurgents in May last year rocketed and seriously damaged the installations in Kirkuk of the internationally-owned, and London-based Iraq Petroleum Company (IPC). !!

Is This It? Only time will tell whether this is the agreement to end the Kurdish problem for good. After all, it is not called agreement officially, but merely constituted a declaration of intent on the part of the government to carry out certain measures to meet the Kurdish demand for autonomy.

A similar, though not so extensive, declaration was made in June, 1966, but it not bring the Kurdish problem to an end. It would appear, however, that this time the machinery for implementing the declaration has been established to go along with the announcement. The Kurds, on the other hand, appear to be still cautious, as was demonstrated by the provision which said that the insurgents will hand over to the Government, their clandestine radio station and heavy weapons only at the last stage of implementation of the provisions of the declaration. The Kurds are not disbanding their irregular army either.

One thing which has come to the surface so far is the fact that the Baath Party which rules Iraq now, is willing to cooperate with the Kurdish Democratic Party under Barzani.

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IMMEDIATE FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

TO BAGHDAD

TELEGRAM NUMBER 288

16 MARCH 1970

(NEQ)

NEQ 1/2

CONFIDENTIAL.

ADDRESSED TO BAGHDAD TELEGRAM NUMBER 288 OF 16 MARCH REPEATED FOR INFORMATION TO TEHRAN.

YOUR TELEGRAM NO. 211 (NOT TO TEHRAN). [OF 16 MARCH]

MESSAGE TO THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT ON KURDISH SETTLEMENT.

WE SHARE YOUR DISLIKE FOR THIS PROCEDURE BUT WE DO NOT, OF COURSE, WISH TO BE CONSPICUOUS IN REFRAINING FROM SAYING SOMETHING IF MANY OTHER GOVERNMENTS OFFER CONGRATULATIONS.

2. YOU SHOULD, THEREFORE, ON MY BEHALF EXPRESS PLEASURE ORALLY AT THE NEWS OF THE SETTLEMENT WHEN YOU NEXT SEE THE FOREIGN MINISTER.

3. IF YOUR APPOINTMENT WITH SHAIKHLY FAILS TO MATERIALISE, YOU SHOULD SPEAK AS SUGGESTED ABOVE TO THE FIRST IRAQI MINISTER OR INFLUENTIAL OFFICIAL YOU SEE IN THE COURSE OF BUSINESS.

STEWART

P.O. PMM
18h

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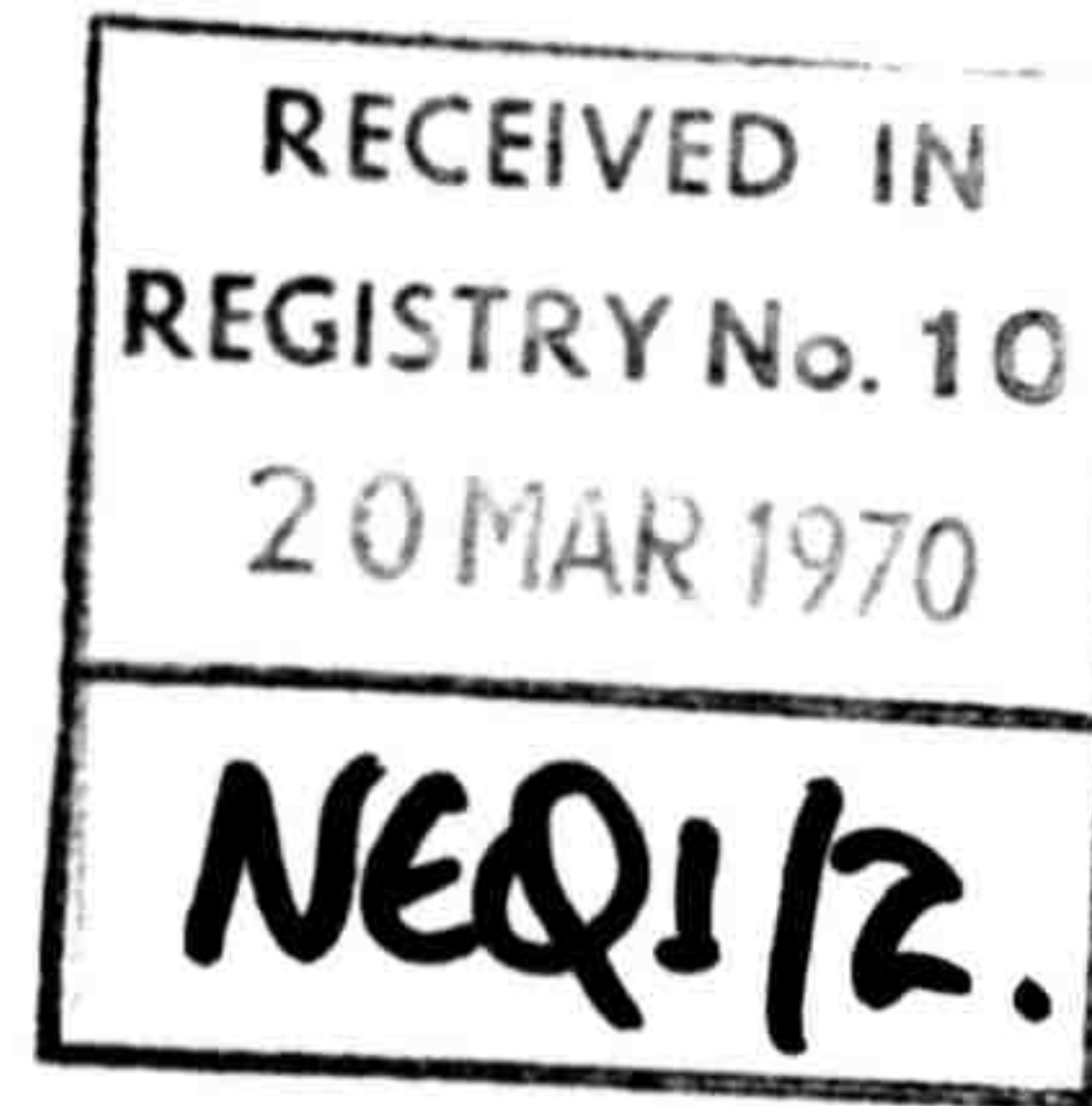
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COVERING SECRET

Private Secretary



CABINET

As requested, I submit Talking Points and a short Background Note on the Kurdish/Iraq Government settlement, for the Secretary of State's use at the Cabinet on 19 March.

J. P. Tripp
(J. P. Tripp)
18 March 1970

c.c.

Mr. Tickell, M.V.O.

COVERING SECRET

SECRET

CABINET

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY No. 10 20 MAR 1970

19 March, 1970.

Iraq - Announced Settlement with Kurds

SPEAKING NOTES [Defensive]

It now seems clear that the Iraq Revolutionary Command Council statement of 11 March, which has been confirmed by Kurdish leaders, reflects at least an agreement to agree. Soviet pressure on both sides to agree seems to have been considerable.

2. The main points of the agreement are:- the Kurds to have an "equitable share" of public office including a Kurdish Vice President, official posts and senior army appointments; there are to be Kurdish representatives in the Legislature (which is as yet non-existent) in proportion to their population; Kurdish officials in predominantly Kurdish areas; and the Iraq Government has undertaken to provide relief measures and economic aid in the war-damaged areas of northern Iraq. Perhaps most important is the Government's declared intention to develop the administrative unity of the Kurdish area and to give the Kurds a measure of autonomy within it.

3. The agreement contains some obscure points, which will almost certainly cause difficulty from the start; these include the precise extent of the Kurdish autonomous area, the amount to be allocated by the Iraqi Government for development and the future of the Kurdish irregular forces.

4. We know from reliable sources that the agreement has caused the Shah serious concern since he feels that, if successfully implemented, it will free the hands of the Ba'ath Government to cause trouble for Kuwait and in the Gulf generally.

SECRET

SECRET

Iraq - Announced Settlement with Kurds

BACKGROUND

The Kurds have been fighting a sporadic war with successive Iraqi régimes for the last ten years. It has been, on the whole, a military stalemate and has tied up large numbers of Iraqi regular troops in the north of Iraq. Some Governments have come close to achieving a settlement, notably that headed by Dr. Bazzaz in 1966, but hopes of peace were destroyed when he was removed from office by Abdul Salam 'Arif who believed in taking a hard line with the Kurds.

2. There are sizeable Kurdish communities in countries neighbouring Iraq - Syria, Turkey, Iran and the U.S.S.R., but they have been largely passive in their relations with their Governments.

Near Eastern Department.

SECRET

Mr. Arthur

COVERING SECRET

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Talks with the French: Iraq

--- I submit a new piece on the Kurds reflecting recent developments which should be substituted for the original paragraph.

J. P. Tripp
(J. P. Tripp)
13 March 1970

c.c.

Mr. Graham
Mr. Miers
Mr. Baker
Mr. Hayman
Mr. Egerton
Mr. Hinchcliffe
Mr. Makinson
Mr. Holding (Arabian Department)

COVERING SECRET

Notes for Mr. Arthur's Talks at the
Quai d'Orsay, 16 March, 1970

IRAQ

A. The Kurds

It now seems clear that the Revolutionary Command Council statement of 11 March, which has been confirmed by the Kurdish radio, reflects at least an agreement to agree. The Embassy describe it aptly as "a statement of intent incorporating various heads of agreement." Soviet pressure on both sides to agree seems to have been considerable.

2. Main points:- Kurds to have "equitable share" of public office (Kurdish Vice-President), official posts and army command; Kurdish representatives in legislature (as yet non-existent) in proportion to their population; Kurdish officials in Kurdish areas, relief measures and economic development for North, pensions to families of disabled and slain, intention to develop administrative unity of Kurdish area and measure of autonomy within it; broadcasting station and heavy weapons to be handed over on implementation of agreement.

3. Obscure points, which will almost certainly cause difficulty from the start:- precise extent of Kurdish autonomous area (including Kirkuk?); amount of allocation for development, and future of Barzani's pish merga.

4. We know that the agreement has caused the Shah serious concern since he feels that the agreement will free the hands of the Ba'ath Government to cause trouble (a) for Kuwait; (b) in the Gulf generally. But we can no doubt rely on Savak to play on Kurdish emotions vis-à-vis the obscure areas in the agreement.

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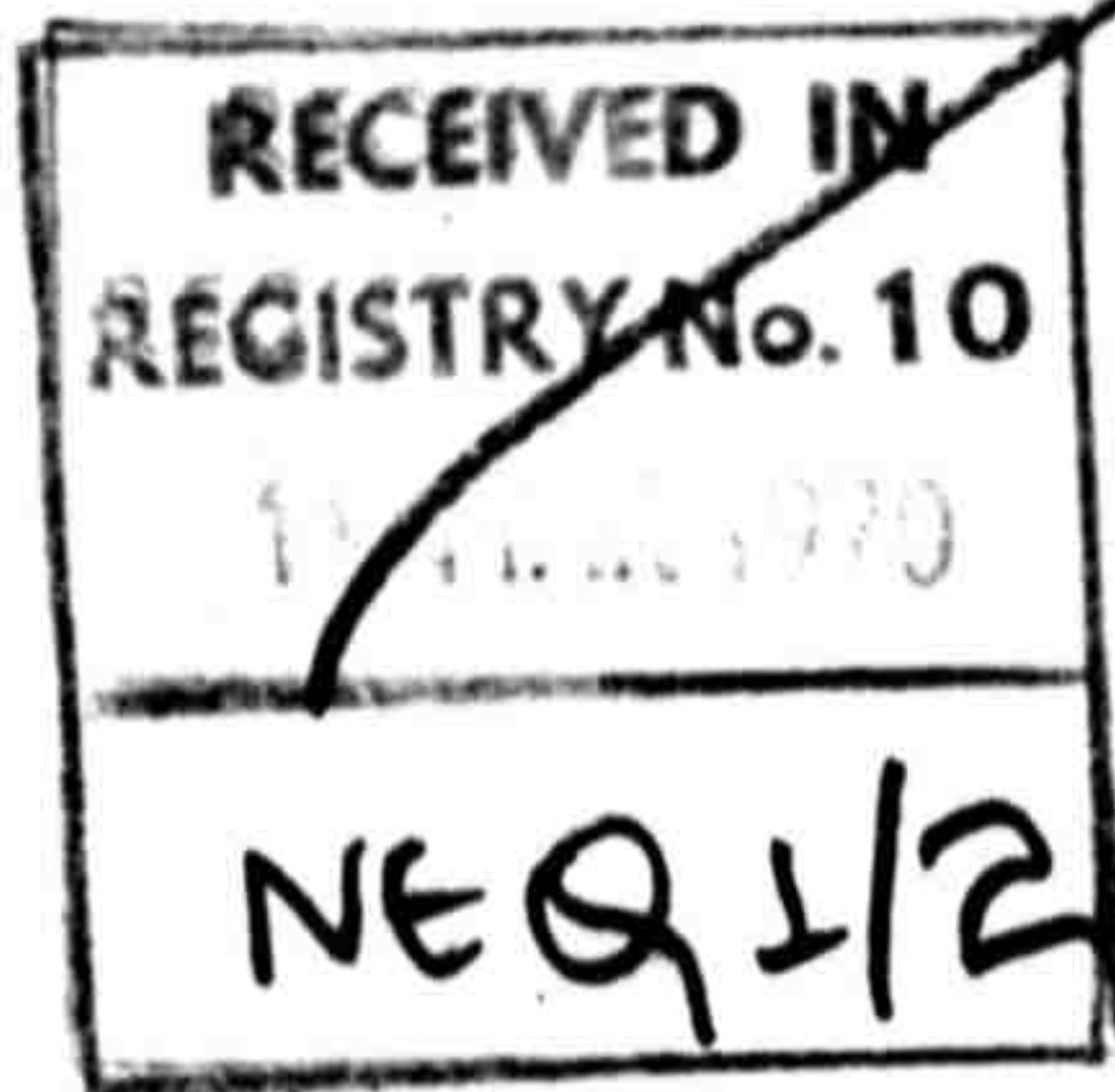
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Kurd contender

KURD worth keeping an eye on—
Dr. Mahmoud Osman, leader of
the Kurdish delegation that has
apparently succeeded in coming to
a settlement of the eight year civil
war with the Baathist Government
in Baghdad.

Lord Kilbracken, who has twice-
reported from behind the Kurdish
lines, tells me Osman is a strong
contender to succeed the aging
supremo General Mustapha
Barzani (another possible is
Kurdish businessman and a former
deputy prime minister Fuad Arif
who helped pave the way for the

Mr. Hinchcliffe



Dr. Mahmoud Osman.

present detente) and could well be
the first political leader of an auto-
nomous Iraqi Kurdistan.

Osman, apart from being secre-
tary-general of the Kurdish revo-
lution's executive bureau, is the

only qualified physician in a popu-
lation of almost a million Kurds.
He has always put in three hours a
day dealing with the most serious
cases at his eight-bed hospital in
the headquarters town of
Napierdan.

A graduate of the Baghdad Col-
lege of Medicine, he spent the com-
pulsory four months as a private in
the Iraqi army before serving a year
in Baghdad's central teaching hos-
pital. He joined the Kurdish revo-
lution in 1962.

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IV(A) THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

11.00 GMT 20.3.70 - 11.00 GMT 21.3.70

Soviet Missiles for Egypt Israel radio reported a television statement by Moshe Dayan, the Defence Minister, who said that the supply of Soviet ground-to-air missiles to Egypt was the first stage of the Sovietisation of the Egyptian war machine. However, Dayan added, a war was waged by two sides and he hoped that Israel would succeed in preventing the installation of missiles in areas where it had to ensure its military superiority. The missiles would not become operational before "the summer of next year" and in the meantime Israel would not be idle*. An earlier broadcast quoted Abba Eban, the Foreign Minister, as having said that every time Israel received a report which had implications in the balance of power, it raised the matter in talks with the Americans*.

Haykal on the Situation in the Middle East In his weekly 'Al-Ahram' article, broadcast by Cairo radio, Hasanayn Haykal said that William Rogers, the US Secretary of State, had shown his "tremendous talent in evading the truth". Since Egypt and Israel could not impose peace and the USA and the Soviet Union could not declare war, the Middle East crisis had entered a vacuum between peace and war.*

The Bint Jubayl Incident A Damascus radio commentary said that the "crime" at Bint Jubayl was no accident but a link in the chain of provocations staged by specific circles who wanted to destroy the Cairo agreement and return Lebanon to an atmosphere of crisis. Its implications, the radio said, urgently called for amendment of the Cairo agreement to allow the Resistance authorities more freedom of movement*. The radio also reported a message from Muhammad Rabah at-Tawil, the Minister of the Interior, to Kamal Junblatt, his Lebanese counterpart, on the "bad impression" created by the murder*. Beirut radio said that Junblatt had reported to Rashid Karami, the Premier*. Junblatt was also quoted as saying that plans were going ahead for the formation of a National Guard commanded by reserve officers to prevent future incidents in the South*. The radio said that Israeli forces shelled the Urqub area on 20th March*.

The Kurds in Iraq The Baghdad radio morning press review on 20th March broadcast an 'Ath-Thawrah' article stating: "... We have learned that the implementation of a number of provisions has begun or preparatory steps have been taken [in the North]. These include orders to military units, irregular forces and Peshmarga forces to withdraw to the areas fixed. The withdrawal has actually begun. Orders have been issued banning the carrying of arms in the northern region... It has also been confirmed that not a single Kurdish prisoner or detainee remains in any Iraqi prison in connection with the past situation..." The "Voice of Iraqi Kurdistan" broadcast programmes in Kurdish (11.15-11.45 GMT), Arabic (11.45-12.45 GMT), and Kurdish (12.15-13.10 GMT) on 20th March on frequencies of 3717 and 3620 kHz.

Yemeni Royalist Decisions The Mutawakkilite radio on 20th March broadcast a statement by the Imam Badr calling for national reconciliation; a decision on the formation of a Council of Representatives; and a Decree appointing Prince Muhammad Bin al-Husayn Chairman of the Council.*

Bourguiba's Anniversary Message Tunis radio broadcast a recorded message from President Bourguiba in Paris on the 14th anniversary of independence in which he said that the situation in the country was better than ever before and appealed to young people to contribute to further security, harmony and progress. He hoped to be able to return to Tunis soon.

Turkish Visits to E Europe On 19th March Ankara radio said that Caglayangil, the Foreign Minister, would visit Poland between 30th March and 4th April. On 20th March the radio said that President Sunay would pay a five-day official visit to Rumania on 13th April.

* For details see Appendices

III - THE FAR EAST

09.00 GMT 20.3.70 - 12.00 GMT 21.3.70

The Situation in Cambodia Early on 21st March (Peking time) the NCNA gave the text of the first part of a statement issued to the press in Peking on 20th March by Norodom Sihanouk, declaring that his deposition by the National Assembly was absolutely illegal. He could only be removed from office by a national referendum*. The "Pathet Lao Radio" said on 20th March that the "right-wing coup ... was instigated by the US imperialists and their henchmen in Cambodia". Early on 21st March (local time) the North Vietnamese news agency and the "South Vietnam Liberation Radio" reported Sihanouk's arrival in Peking, quoting NCNA as the source. The coup was reported by the [North] Vietnam News Agency in French at 11.14 GMT on 21st March. Its authors were described as a "pro-American extreme Rightist group", who were stirring up a campaign against the Vietnamese people with a view to concealing the conspiracy of the US imperialists*.

Phnom Penh home service again behaved normally on 21st March; programmes included scheduled news bulletins, music, a play and commercial announcements. A message to the nation by Lon Nol was broadcast many times. He stated that Sihanouk had been deposed by constitutional means and that he was now an ordinary citizen; any attempt by him to harm Cambodia's interests would be "tantamount to high treason". In a message on International Day against Racial Discrimination, also broadcast by the radio, Lon Nol said that Cambodia must show the world that its strong nationalist spirit did not imply any racial discrimination.*

In a message to the nation and to Cambodian exiles on 21st March, broadcast by Phnom Penh radio, the Government appealed for the return home of Cambodians who had been accused by the Sihanouk regime of being Red or Blue and had fled abroad. The radio reported that all diplomatic and consular missions in Cambodia had been informed by the Foreign Ministry on 20th March that the Cambodian policy of neutrality had not changed and that the Government would honour all existing treaties and agreements.*

The NCNA - at 21.00 GMT on 21st March - carried a communique issued that day by the "private secretariat of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia", in view of "certain news coming from Hong Kong and Japan", stating that he had no intention of going to these places let alone seeking political asylum there. An hour later the NCNA transmitted the second and third parts of Norodom Sihanouk's statement to the press - the second part was in reply to the "principal charges made by the Parliament" to justify his deposition; the third part included the avowal that he had "absolutely no intention" of seeking to resume power or of retaining the "now absurd title of Head of State of Cambodia".**

President Suharto's South-East Asian Tour Jakarta home service reported that President Suharto had arrived in Bangkok on a four-day State visit and had held talks with the Thai Foreign Minister on trade and the security situation in the area.*

The Brandt-Stoph Meeting was welcomed by the Mongolian press of 19th March, according to that country's agency. A commentary in 'Unen' described it as "the result of the initiative and consistent efforts of the GDR aimed at the establishment of normal and equitable relations between the two German States". It would show whether Brandt's frequent statements before and since his election as Chancellor about his intentions to develop relations with the socialist countries would be confirmed by concrete actions.

Mao-study Activists' Congresses Changsha radio reported that the Second Hunan Mao-study Activists' Congress had opened in the provincial capital.* Wuhan radio broadcast a lengthy report of the summing up speech at the First Hupeh Congress of Mao-study Activists by Liu Feng, Political Commissar of the PLA Wuhan units and Vice-Chairman of the Provincial Revolutionary Committee. He noted the great achievements recorded in the province due to the upsurge in Mao-study, emphasising particularly the great part played in the movement by Vice-Chairman Lin Piao.*

* For details see Appendices

** Details to be published later

Problem Of Kurds In Iraq. Problem Of Kurds In Iraq. 30 Dec. 1969. MS Middle East Online: Iraq, 1914-1974: Selected files from series AIR, CAB, CO, FCO, FO, PREM, T, WO, The National Archives, Kew, UK FCO 17/1236. Newspaper Cutting. The National Archives (Kew, United Kingdom). Archives Unbound, link.gale.com/apps/doc/SC5107509632/GDSC?u=webdemo&sid=bookmark-GDSC&xid=f44011eb&pg=1. Accessed 11 Apr. 2022.